



Harding, Warren G. 1875-1921, U.S.



SPEECHES *of*
Senator Warren G. Harding
of Ohio

REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT

*From His Acceptance of the
Nomination to October 1, 1920*

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REPUBLICAN PLATFORM 1920

The Republican Party, assembled in representative national convention, reaffirms its unyielding devotion to the Constitution of the United States, and to the guarantees of civil, political and religious liberty therein contained. It will resist all attempts to overthrow the foundations of the government or to weaken the force of its controlling principles and ideals, whether these attempts be made in the form of international policy or domestic agitation.

For seven years the national government has been controlled by the Democratic Party. During that period a war of unparalleled magnitude has shaken the foundations of civilization, decimated the population of Europe, and left in its train economic misery and suffering second only to the war itself.

The outstanding features of the Democratic administration have been complete unpreparedness for war and complete unpreparedness for peace.

Unpreparedness For War

Inexcusable failure to make timely preparation is the chief indictment against the Democratic administration in the conduct of the war. Had not our Associates protected us, both on land and sea, during the first twelve months of our participation, and furnished us to the very day of the Armistice with munitions, planes and artillery, this failure would have been punished with disaster. It directly resulted in unnecessary losses to our gallant troops, in the imperilment of victory itself, and in an enormous waste of public funds literally poured into the breach created by gross neglect. Today it is reflected in our huge tax burden and in the high cost of living.

Unpreparedness For Peace

Peace found the Administration as unprepared for peace as war found it unprepared for war. The vital needs of the country demanded the early and systematic return to a peace-time basis.

This called for vision, leadership and intelligent planning. All three have been lacking. While the country has been left to shift for itself, the Government has continued on a war-time basis. The Administration has not demobilized the army of place holders. It continued a method of financing which was indefensible during the period of reconstruction. It has used legislation passed to meet the emergency of war to continue its arbitrary and inquisitorial control over the life of the people in time of peace, and to carry confusion into industrial life. Under the despot's plea

of necessity of superior wisdom, executive usurpation of legislative and judicial functions still undermines our institutions. Eighteen months after the Armistice, with its war-time powers unabridged, its war-time departments undischarged, its war-time army of place holders still mobilized, the Administration continues to flounder helplessly.

The demonstrated incapacity of the Democratic Party has destroyed public confidence, weakened the authority of the government, and produced a feeling of distrust and hesitation so universal as to increase enormously the difficulties of readjustment and to delay the return to normal conditions.

Never has our Nation been confronted with graver problems. The people are entitled to know in definite terms how the parties propose solving these problems. To that end, the Republican Party declares its policies and program to be as follows:

Constitutional Government

We undertake to end executive autocracy and to restore to the people their constitutional government.

The policies herein declared will be carried out by the federal and state governments, each acting within its constitutional powers.

Foreign Relations

The foreign policy of the Administration has been founded upon no principle and directed by no definite conception of our nation's rights and obligations. It has been humiliating to America and irritating to other nations, with the result that after a period of unexampled sacrifice, our motives are suspected, our moral influence impaired, and our Government stands discredited and friendless among the nations of the world.

We favor a liberal and generous foreign policy founded upon definite moral and political principles, characterized by a clear understanding of and a firm adherence to our own rights, and unflinching respect for the rights of others. We should afford full and adequate protection to the life, liberty, property and all international rights of every American citizen, and should require a proper respect for the American flag; but we should be equally careful to manifest a just regard for the rights of other nations. A scrupulous observance of our international engagements when lawfully assumed is essential to our honor and self-respect, and the respect of other nations. Subject to a due regard for our international obligations, we should leave our country free to develop its civilization along lines most conducive to the happiness and welfare of its people, and to cast its influence on the side of justice and right should occasion require.

(a) Mexico

The ineffective policy of the present Administration in Mexican mat-

ters has been largely responsible for the continued loss of American lives in that country and upon our border; for the enormous loss of American and foreign property; for the lowering of American standards of morality and social relations with Mexicans, and for the bringing of American ideals of justice, national honor and political integrity into contempt and ridicule in Mexico and throughout the world.

The policy of wordy, futile written protests against the acts of Mexican officials, explained the following day by the President himself as being meaningless and not intended to be considered seriously, or enforced, has but added in degree to that contempt, and has earned for us the sneers and jeers of Mexican bandits, and added insult upon insult against our national honor and dignity.

We should not recognize any Mexican government, unless it be a responsible government, willing and able to give sufficient guarantees that the lives and property of American citizens are respected and protected; that wrongs will be promptly corrected and just compensation will be made for injury sustained. The Republican Party pledges itself to a consistent, firm and effective policy towards Mexico that shall enforce respect for the American flag and that shall protect the rights of American citizens lawfully in Mexico to security of life and enjoyment of property, in accordance with established principles of international law and our treaty rights.

The Republican Party is a sincere friend of the Mexican people. In its insistence upon the maintenance of order for the protection of American citizens within its borders a great service will be rendered the Mexican people themselves; for a continuation of present conditions means disaster to their interests and patriotic aspirations.

(b) Mandate For Armenia

We condemn President Wilson for asking Congress to empower him to accept a mandate for Armenia. We commend the Republican Senate for refusing the President's request to empower him to accept the mandate for Armenia. The acceptance of such mandate would throw the United States into the very maelstrom of European quarrels. According to the estimate of the Harbord Commission, organized by authority of President Wilson, we would be called upon to send 59,000 American boys to police Armenia and to expend \$276,000,000 in the first year and \$756,000,000 in five years. This estimate is made upon the basis that we would have only roving bands to fight; but in case of serious trouble with the Turks or with Russia, a force exceeding 200,000 would be necessary.

No more striking illustration can be found of President Wilson's disregard of the lives of American boys or of American interests.

We deeply sympathize with the people of Armenia and stand ready

to help them in all proper ways, but the Republican Party will oppose now and hereafter the acceptance of a mandate for any country in Europe or Asia.

(c) League Of Nations

The Republican Party stands for agreement among the nations to preserve the peace of the world. We believe that such an international association must be based upon international justice, and must provide methods which shall maintain the rule of public right by the development of law and the decision of impartial courts, and which shall secure instant and general international conference whenever, peace shall be threatened by political action, so that the nations pledged to do and insist upon what is just and fair may exercise their influence and power for the prevention of war.

We believe that all this can be done without the compromise of national independence, without depriving the people of the United States in advance of the right to determine for themselves what is just and fair when the occasion arises, and without involving them as participants and not as peace-makers in a multitude of quarrels, the merits of which they are unable to judge.

The covenant signed by the President at Paris failed signally to accomplish this great purpose, and contains stipulations, not only intolerable for an independent people, but certain to produce the injustice, hostility, and controversy among nations which it proposed to prevent.

That covenant repudiated, to a degree wholly unnecessary and unjustifiable, the time-honored policies in favor of peace declared by Washington, Jefferson, and Monroe, and pursued by all American administrations for more than a century, and it ignored the universal sentiment of America for generations past in favor of international law and arbitration, and it rested the hope of the future upon mere expediency and negotiation.

The unfortunate insistence of the President upon having his own way, without any change and without any regard to the opinions of a majority of the Senate, which shares with him in the treaty-making power, and the President's demand that the Treaty should be ratified without any modification, created a situation in which Senators were required to vote upon their consciences and their oaths according to their judgment against the Treaty as it was presented, or submit to the commands of a dictator in a matter where the authority and the responsibility under the Constitution were theirs, and not his.

The senators performed their duty faithfully. We approve their conduct and honor their courage and fidelity. And we pledge the coming Republican administration to such agreements with the other nations of

the world as shall meet the full duty of America to civilization and humanity, in accordance with American ideals, and without surrendering the right of the American people to exercise its judgment and its power in favor of justice and peace.

Congress and Reconstruction

Despite the unconstitutional and dictatorial course of the President and the partisan obstruction of the Democratic Congressional minority, the Republican majority has enacted a program of constructive legislation which in great part, however, has been nullified by the vindictive vetoes of the President.

The Republican Congress has met the problems presented by the Administration's unpreparedness for peace. It has repealed the greater part of the vexatious war legislation. It has enacted a Transportation Act making possible the rehabilitation of the railroad systems of the country, the operation of which under the present Democratic Administration, has been wasteful, extravagant and inefficient in the highest degree. The Transportation Act made provision for the peaceful settlement of wage disputes, partially nullified, however, by the President's delay in appointing the Wage Board created by the act. This delay precipitated the outlaw railroad strike.

We stopped the flood of public treasure, recklessly poured into the lap of an inept Shipping Board, and laid the foundations for the creation of a great merchant marine; we took from the incompetent Democratic Administration the administration of the telegraph and telephone lines of the country and returned them to private ownership; we reduced the cost of postage and increased the pay of the postal employes—the poorest paid of all public servants; we provided pensions for superannuated and retired civil servants; and for an increase in pay of soldiers and sailors. We reorganized the army on a peace footing, and provided for the maintenance of a powerful and efficient navy.

The Republican Congress established by law a permanent Woman's Bureau in the Department of Labor; we submitted to the country the constitutional amendment for woman suffrage, and furnished twenty-nine of the thirty-five legislatures which have ratified it to date.

Legislation for the relief of the consumers of print paper, for the extension of the powers of the government under the Food Control Act, for broadening the scope of the War Risk Insurance Act, better provision for the dwindling number of aged veterans of the Civil War and for the better support of the maimed and injured of the Great War, and for making practical the Vocational Rehabilitation Act, has been enacted by the Republican Congress.

We passed an oil leasing and water power bill to unlock for the public

good the great pent-up resources of the country; we have sought to check the profligacy of the Administration, to realize upon the assets of the government and to husband the revenues derived from taxation. The Republicans in Congress have been responsible for cuts in the estimates for government expenditure of nearly \$3,000,000,000, since the signing of the Armistice.

We enacted a national executive budget law; we strengthened the Federal Reserve Act to permit banks to lend needed assistance to farmers; we authorized financial incorporations to develop export trade; and finally, amended the rules of the Senate and House, which will reform evils in procedure and guarantee more efficient and responsible government.

Agriculture

The farmer is the backbone of the Nation. National greatness and economic independence demand a population distributed between industry and the farm, and sharing on equal terms the prosperity which is wholly dependent upon the efforts of both. Neither can prosper at the expense of the other without inviting joint disaster.

The crux of the present agricultural condition lies in prices, labor and credit.

The Republican Party believes that this condition can be improved by: practical and adequate farm representation in the appointment of governmental officials and commissions; the right to form co-operative associations for marketing their products, and protection against discrimination; the scientific study of agricultural prices and farm production costs, at home and abroad, with a view to reducing the frequency of abnormal fluctuations; the uncensored publication of such reports; the authorization of associations for the extension of personal credit; a national inquiry on the co-ordination of rail, water and motor transportation with adequate facilities for receiving, handling and marketing food; the encouragement of our export trade; an end to unnecessary price-fixing and ill-considered efforts arbitrarily to reduce prices of farm products which invariably result to the disadvantage both of producer and consumer; and the encouragement of the production and importation of fertilizing material and of its extensive use.

The Federal Farm Loan Act should be so administered as to facilitate the acquisition of farm land by those desiring to become owners and proprietors and thus minimize the evils of farm tenantry, and to furnish such long-time credits as farmers may need to finance adequately their larger and long time production operations.

Industrial Relations

There are two different conceptions of the relations of capital and

labor. The one is contractual and emphasizes the diversity of interests of employer and employee. The other is that of co-partnership in a common task.

We recognize the justice of collective bargaining as a means of promoting good will, establishing closer and more harmonious relations between employers and employees, and realizing the true ends of industrial justice.

The strike or the lockout, as a means of settling industrial disputes, inflicts such loss and suffering on the community as to justify government initiative to reduce its frequency and limit its consequences.

We deny the right to strike against the government; but the rights and interests of all government employees must be safeguarded by impartial laws and tribunals.

In public utilities we favor the establishment of an impartial tribunal to make an investigation of the facts and to render a decision to the end that there may be no organized interruption of service necessary to the lives, health and welfare of the people. The decisions of the tribunals should be morally but not legally binding, and an informed public sentiment be relied on to secure their acceptance. The tribunals, however, should refuse to accept jurisdiction except for the purpose of investigation, as long as the public service be interrupted. For public utilities we favor the type of tribunal provided for in the Transportation Act of 1920.

In private industries we do not advocate the principle of compulsory arbitration, but we favor impartial commissions and better facilities for voluntary mediation, conciliation and arbitration, supplemented by that full publicity which will enlist the influence of an aroused public opinion. The Government should take the initiative in inviting the establishment of tribunals or commissions for the purpose of voluntary arbitration and of investigation of disputed issues.

We demand the exclusion from interstate commerce of the products of convict labor.

National Economy

A Republican Congress reduced the estimates submitted by the Administration almost three billion dollars. Greater economies could have been effected had it not been for the stubborn refusal of the Administration to co-operate with Congress in an economy program. The universal demand for an executive budget is a recognition of the incontrovertible fact that that leadership and sincere assistance on the part of the Executive departments are essential to effective economy and constructive retrenchment.

The Overman Act invested the President of the United States with all the authority and power necessary to restore the Federal Government

to a normal peace basis and to reorganize, retrench and demobilize. The dominant fact is that eighteen months after the Armistice, the United States Government is still on a war-time basis, and the expenditure program of the Executive reflects war-time extravagance rather than rigid peace-time economy.

As an example of the failure to retrench which has characterized the post-war policy of the Administration, we cite the fact that not including the War and Navy Departments, the executive departments and other establishments at Washington actually record an increase subsequent to the Armistice of 2,184 employees. The net decrease in pay-roll costs contained in the 1921 demands submitted by the Administration is only one per cent. under that of 1920. The annual expenses of the Federal Government can be reduced hundreds of millions of dollars without impairing the efficiency of the public service.

We pledge ourselves to a carefully planned readjustment to a peacetime basis and to a policy of rigid economy, to the better co-ordination of departmental activities, to the elimination of unnecessary officials and employees, and to the raising of the standard of individual efficiency.

The Executive Budget

We congratulate the Republican Congress on the enactment of a law providing for the establishment of an Executive Budget as a necessary instrument for a sound and business-like administration of the national finances; and we condemn the veto of the President which defeated this great financial reform.

Reorganization of Federal Departments and Bureaus

We advocate a thorough investigation of the present organization of the Federal departments and bureaus, with a view to securing consolidation, a more business-like distribution of functions, the elimination of duplication, delays and over-lapping of work, and the establishment of an up-to-date and efficient administrative organization.

War Powers of the President

The President clings tenaciously to his autocratic war-time powers. His veto of the Resolution declaring peace and his refusal to sign the bill repealing war-time legislation, no longer necessary, evidence his determination not to restore to the Nation and to the States the form of government provided for by the Constitution. This usurpation is intolerable and deserves the severest condemnation.

Taxation

The burden of taxation imposed upon the American people is staggering; but in presenting a true statement of the situation we must face the fact that, while the character of the taxes can and should be changed, an early reduction of the amount of revenue to be raised is not to be expected.

The next Republican administration will inherit from its Democratic predecessor a floating indebtedness of over three billion dollars, the prompt liquidation of which is demanded by sound financial considerations. Moreover, the whole fiscal policy of the Government must be deeply influenced by the necessity of meeting obligations in excess of five billion dollars which mature in 1923. But sound policy equally demands the early accomplishment of that real reduction of the tax burden which may be achieved by substituting simple for complex tax laws and procedure; prompt and certain determination of the tax liability for delay and uncertainty; tax laws which do not, for tax laws which do, excessively mulct the consumer or needlessly repress enterprise and thrift.

We advocate the issuance of a simplified form of income return; authorizing the Treasury Department to make changes in regulations effective only from the date of their approval; empowering the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the consent of the taxpayer, to make final and conclusive settlements of tax claims and assessments barring fraud, and the creation of a Tax Board consisting of at least three representatives of the tax-paying public and the heads of the principal divisions of the Bureau of Internal Revenue to act as a standing committee on the simplification of forms, procedure and law, and to make recommendations to the Congress.

Banking and Currency

The fact is that the war, to a great extent, was financed by a policy of inflation through certificate borrowing from the banks, and bonds issued at artificial rates sustained by the low discount rates established by the Federal Reserve Board. The continuance of this policy since the Armistice lays the Administration open to severe criticism. Almost up to the present time, the practices of the Federal Reserve Board as to credit control have been frankly dominated by the convenience of the Treasury.

The results have been a greatly increased war cost, a serious loss to the millions of people who in good faith bought Liberty Bonds and Victory Notes at par, and extensive post-war speculation, followed today by a restricted credit for legitimate industrial expansion. As a matter of public policy, we urge all banks to give credit preference to essential industries.

The Federal Reserve System should be free from political influence, which is quite as important as its independence of domination by financial combinations.

The High Cost of Living

The prime cause of the "High Cost of Living" has been first and foremost, a fifty per cent depreciation in the purchasing power of the dollar,

due to a gross expansion of our currency and credit. Reduced production, burdensome taxation, swollen profits, and the increased demand for goods arising from a fictitious but enlarged buying power have been contributing causes in a greater or less degree.

We condemn the unsound fiscal policies of the Democratic administration which have brought these things to pass, and their attempts to impute the consequences to minor and secondary causes. Much of the injury wrought is irreparable. There is no short way out, and we decline to deceive the people with vain promises or quack remedies. But as the political party that throughout its history has stood for honest money and sound finance, we pledge ourselves to earnest and consistent attack upon the high cost of living by rigorous avoidance of further inflation in our government borrowing, by courageous and intelligent deflation of over-expanded credit and currency, by encouragement of heightened production of goods and services, by prevention of unreasonable profits, by exercise of public economy and stimulation of private thrift and by revision of war imposed taxes unsuited to peace-time economy.

Profiteering

We condemn the Democratic administration for failure impartially to enforce the anti-profiteering laws enacted by the Republican Congress.

Railroads

We are opposed to government ownership and operation or employee operation of the railroads. In view of the conditions prevailing in this country, the experience of the last two years, and the conclusions which may be fairly drawn from an observation of the transportation systems of other countries, it is clear that adequate transportation service both for the present and future can be furnished more certainly, economically and efficiently through private ownership and operation under proper regulation and control.

There should be no speculative profit in rendering the service of transportation; but in order to do justice to the capital already invested in railway enterprises, to restore railway credit, to induce future investment at a reasonable rate, and to furnish enlarged facilities to meet the requirements of the constantly increasing development and distribution, a fair return upon the actual value of the railway property used in transportation should be made reasonably sure, and at the same time provide constant employment to those engaged in transportation service, with fair hours and favorable working conditions, at wages or compensation at least equal to those prevailing in similar lines of industry.

We endorse the Transportation Act of 1920 enacted by the Republican Congress as a most constructive legislative achievement.

Waterways

We declare it to be our policy to encourage and develop water transportation service and facilities in connection with the commerce of the United States.

Regulation of Industry and Commerce

We approve in general the existing Federal legislation against monopoly and combinations in restraint of trade, but since the known certainty of a law is the safety of all, we advocate such amendment as will provide American business men with better means of determining in advance whether a proposed combination is or is not unlawful. The Federal Trade Commission, under a Democratic administration, has not accomplished the purpose for which it was created. This Commission properly organized and its duties efficiently administered should afford protection to the public and legitimate business interests. There should be no persecution of honest business, but to the extent that circumstances warrant we pledge ourselves to strengthen the law against unfair practices.

We pledge the party to an immediate resumption of trade relations with every nation with which we are at peace.

International Trade and Tariff

The uncertain and unsettled condition of international balances, the abnormal economic and trade situation of the world, and the impossibility of forecasting accurately even the near future, preclude the formulation of a definite program to meet conditions a year hence. But the Republican Party reaffirms its belief in the protective principle and pledges itself to a revision of the tariff as soon as conditions shall make it necessary for the preservation of the home market for American labor, agriculture and industry.

Merchant Marine

The national defense and our foreign commerce require a merchant marine of the best type of modern ship flying the American flag, manned by American seamen, owned by private capital, and operated by private energy. We endorse the sound legislation recently enacted by the Republican Congress that will insure the promotion and maintenance of the American merchant marine.

We favor the application of the Workmen's Compensation Acts to the merchant marine.

We recommend that all ships engaged in coastwise trade and all vessels of the American merchant marine shall pass through the Panama Canal without payment of tolls.

Immigration

The standard of living and the standard of citizenship of a nation are its most precious possessions, and the preservation and elevation of those

standards is the first duty of our government. The immigration policy of the United States should be such as to insure that the number of foreigners in the country at any time shall not exceed that which can be assimilated with reasonable rapidity, and to favor immigrants whose standards are similar to ours.

The selective tests that are at present applied should be improved by requiring a higher physical standard, a more complete exclusion of mental defectives and of criminals, and a more effective inspection applied as near the source of immigration as possible, as well as at the port of entry. Justice to the foreigner and to ourselves demands provision for the guidance, protection and better economic distribution of our alien population. To facilitate government supervision, all aliens should be required to register annually until they become naturalized.

The existing policy of the United States for the practical exclusion of Asiatic immigrants is sound, and should be maintained.

Naturalization

There is urgent need of improvement in our naturalization law. No alien should become a citizen until he has become genuinely American, and adequate tests for determining the alien's fitness for American citizenship should be provided for by law.

We advocate, in addition, the independent naturalization of married women. An American woman, resident in the United States, should not lose her citizenship by marriage to an alien.

Free Speech and Alien Agitation

We demand that every American citizen shall enjoy the ancient and constitutional right of free speech, free press and free assembly and the no less sacred right of the qualified voter to be represented by his duly chosen representatives; but no man may advocate resistance to the law, and no man may advocate violent overthrow of the government.

Aliens within the jurisdiction of the United States are not entitled of right to liberty of agitation directed against the government or American institutions.

Every government has the power to exclude and deport those aliens who constitute a real menace to its peaceful existence. But in view of the large numbers of people affected by the immigration acts and in view of the vigorous malpractice of the Departments of Justice and Labor, an adequate public hearing before a competent administrative tribunal should be assured to all:

Lynching

We urge Congress to consider the most effective means to end lynching in this country which continues to be a terrible blot on our American civilization.

Public Roads and Highways

We favor liberal appropriations in co-operation with the states for the construction of highways, which will bring about a reduction in transportation costs, better marketing of farm products, improvement in rural postal delivery, as well as meet the needs of military defense.

In determining the proportion of Federal aid for road construction among the states, the sums lost in taxation to the respective states by the setting apart of large portions of their area as forest reservations should be considered as a controlling factor.

Conservation

Conservation is a Republican policy. It began with the passage of the Reclamation Act signed by President Roosevelt. The recent passage of the coal, oil and phosphate leasing act by the Republican Congress and the enactment of the waterpower bill fashioned in accordance with the same principle, are consistent landmarks in the development of the conservation of our national resources. We denounce the refusal of the President to sign the waterpower bill, passed after ten years of controversy. The Republican Party has taken an especially honorable part in saving our national forests and in the effort to establish a national forest policy. Our most pressing conservation question relates to our forests. We are using our forest resources faster than they are being renewed. The result is to raise unduly the cost of forest products to consumers and especially farmers, who use more than half the lumber produced in America, and in the end to create a timber famine. The Federal Government, the states and private interests must unite in devising means to meet the menace.

Reclamation

We favor a fixed and comprehensive policy of reclamation to increase national wealth and production.

We recognize in the development of reclamation through Federal action with its increase of production and taxable wealth a safeguard for the nation.

We commend to Congress a policy to reclaim lands and the establishment of a fixed national policy of development of natural resources in relation to reclamation through the now designated government agencies.

Army and Navy

We feel the deepest pride in the fine courage, the resolute endurance, the gallant spirit of the officers and men of our army and navy in the World War. They were in all ways worthy of the best traditions of the nation's defenders, and we pledge ourselves to proper maintenance of the military and naval establishments upon which our national security and dignity depend.

The Service Men

We hold in imperishable remembrance the valor and the patriotism of the soldiers and sailors of America who fought in the Great War for human liberty, and we pledge ourselves to discharge to the fullest the obligations which a grateful nation justly should fulfill, in appreciation of the services rendered by its defenders on sea and on land.

Republicans are not ungrateful. Throughout their history they have shown their gratitude toward the nation's defenders. Liberal legislation for the care of the disabled and infirm and their dependents has ever marked Republican policy toward the soldier and sailor of all the wars in which our country has participated. The present Congress has appropriated generously for the disabled of the World War.

The amounts already applied and authorized for the fiscal year 1920-21 for this purpose reached the stupendous sum of \$1,180,571,893. The legislation is significant of the party's purpose in generously caring for the maimed and disabled men of the recent war.

Civil Service

We renew our repeated declaration that the civil service law shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable. The recent action of Congress in enacting a comprehensive civil service retirement law and in working out a comprehensive employment and wage policy that will guarantee equal and just treatment to the army of government workers, and in centralizing the administration of the new and progressive employment policy in the hands of the Civil Service Commission is worthy of all praise.

Postal Service

We condemn the present administration for its destruction of the efficiency of the postal service, and the telegraph and telephone service when controlled by the government and for its failure to properly compensate employees whose expert knowledge is essential to the proper conduct of the affairs of the postal system. We commend the Republican Congress for the enactment of legislation increasing the pay of postal employees, who up to that time were the poorest paid in the government service.

Woman Suffrage

We welcome women into full participation in the affairs of government and the activities of the Republican Party. We earnestly hope that Republican legislatures in states which have not yet acted on the Suffrage Amendment will ratify the amendment, to the end that all of the women of the nation of voting age may participate in the election of 1920, which is so important to the welfare of our country.

Social Progress

The supreme duty of the nation is the conservation of human resources through an enlightened measure of social and industrial justice. Although the federal jurisdiction over social problems is limited, they affect the welfare and interest of the nation as a whole. We pledge the Republican Party to the solution of these problems through national and state legislation in accordance with the best progressive thought of the country.

Education and Health

We endorse the principle of Federal aid to the states for the purposes of vocational and agricultural training.

Wherever Federal money is devoted to education, such education must be so directed as to awaken in the youth the spirit of America and a sense of patriotic duty to the United States.

A thorough system of physical education for all children up to the age of nineteen, including adequate health supervision and instruction, would remedy conditions revealed by the draft and would add to the economic and industrial strength of the nation. National leadership and stimulation will be necessary to induce the states to adopt a wise system of physical training.

The public health activities of the Federal government are scattered through numerous departments and bureaus, resulting in inefficiency duplication and extravagance. We advocate a greater centralization of the Federal functions, and in addition urge the better co-ordination of the work of the Federal, state and local health agencies.

Child Labor

The Republican Party stands for a Federal child labor law and for its rigid enforcement. If the present law be found unconstitutional or ineffective, we shall seek other means to enable Congress to prevent the evils of child labor.

Women in Industry

Women have special problems of employment which make necessary special study. We commend Congress for the permanent establishment of the Women's Bureau in the United States Department of Labor to serve as a source of information to the states and to Congress.

The principle of equal pay for equal service should be applied throughout all branches of the Federal government in which women are employed.

Federal aid for vocational training should take into consideration the special aptitudes and needs of women workers.

We demand Federal legislation to limit the hours of employment of women engaged in intensive industry, the product of which enters into interstate commerce.

Housing

The housing shortage has not only compelled careful study of ways of stimulating building, but it has brought into relief the unsatisfactory character of the housing accommodations of large numbers of the inhabitants of our cities. A nation of home owners is the best guaranty of the maintenance of those principles of liberty, law and order upon which our government is founded. Both national and state governments should encourage in all proper ways the acquiring of homes by our citizens. The United States Government should make available the valuable information on housing and town planning collected during the war. This information should be kept up to date and made currently available.

Hawaii

For Hawaii we recommend Federal assistance in Americanizing and educating their greatly disproportionate foreign population; home rule; and the rehabilitation of the Hawaiian race.

Pointing to its history and relying on its fundamental principles, we declare that the Republican Party has the genius, courage and constructive ability to end executive usurpation and restore constitutional government; to fulfill our world obligations without sacrificing our national independence; to raise the national standards of education, health and general welfare; to re-establish a peace-time administration and to substitute economy and efficiency for extravagance and chaos; to restore and maintain the national credit; to reform unequal and burdensome taxes; to free business from arbitrary and unnecessary official control; to suppress disloyalty without the denial of justice; to repel the arrogant challenge of any class and to maintain a government of all the people as contrasted with government for some of the people, and finally, to allay unrest, suspicion and strife, and to secure the co-operation and unity of all citizens in the solution of the complex problems of the day; to the end that our country, happy and prosperous, proud of its past, sure of itself and of its institutions, may look forward with confidence to the future.

THE METAL OF REAL FRIENDSHIP

A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING, DELIVERED IN MARION, OHIO, AT THE WELCOME-HOME CELEBRATION IN HIS HONOR AFTER HIS NOMINATION TO THE PRESIDENCY, JULY 5, 1920

Dear Friends and Neighbors—There is a conflict of emotions in responding to your cordial welcome home. It is always good to come here, no matter whither one has gone or what the revolving fates have wrought during one's absence.

It is a little difficult to make a choice among thoughts impelling. For thirty-eight years we have been friends and neighbors here in Marion, and only a few miles away are the treasured scenes of birth and boyhood. Some of them have been recalled and recorded, very recently, with touches of imagination I fear, because the real story is a very ordinary one, which might be related concerning any of us, but that doesn't in any way mar the understanding among home folks.

There can be no mistaken appraisal of our relationship. It is too extended, too intimate, too thoroughly stamped by community interest. You and I, all of us Marionites, have been boosting this Marion of ours together for considerably more than thirty years, and have shared in varying degrees the achievements attending its development. The thought of development and progress, a desire to find our place on the map of Ohio, inspired us, and there was common interest in spite of the seeming selfishness attending rewards. We were all boosters together, because it is an engaging pursuit.

Play the Game Together

Any distinction which came to me in that connection was due to the accident of my occupation as a publisher, rather than any spirit peculiarly my own. We all played the game together, because it was our game, and we boosted because the upbuilding, uplifting, commending pursuits in life are the only ones worthy of any one's committal. [If it is becoming to assent to the praise you bestow, let it be understood that any preference ever shown me is wholly and invariably due to that consideration which I have willingly shown to others and to an inherited conviction that **it is a waste of God's rich endowments to assail and destroy when all the flowers of life bloom best in the soil of sympathy and encouragement.**]

Marion has been unflinchingly generous toward me. Many of you have stood before this home before and voiced your greeting and encouragement. There are running through my mind recollections of

seventeen years ago, when you first wished me well as a State candidate. Seven years later you came again, though the enterprise later ended in failure. Four years later on you came once more, and we did succeed, and I was honored with a commission to the Federal Senate, where any man might well prefer to perform his part in public service. It is impossible to convey my reluctance to leave the Senate, and just now I have come to realize that I am leaving no matter how the election decides.

The Metal of Real Friendship

But the thought I want to emphasize, with every stamp of gratitude, is that you have come with your greetings again and again, and yet again, and you come this afternoon with a manifestation of friendship and confidence which must fill any human heart to overflowing. I am so truly grateful, I feel it all so deeply, that words fail to convey all the appreciation which is in my heart.

But I must tell you the thing old Marion County did which is the supreme compensation to me. It isn't so expressive to applaud a victorious candidate, but you test the metal of real friendship when one is initiating a candidacy. Last April, when the primary was invoked to bespeak Ohio's preference, this old County gave to me that neighborly and friendly support which is the nearest approach to one hundred per cent loyalty I have ever seen accorded to any one. That was the supreme expression. If I could have but one—If I had to choose between that tribute of the home county and the final vote in the national convention—I would choose the home county expression of confidence, because your knowing me made it the finest tribute to which one may aspire.

Frankly, I like your rejoicing over a more than usual tribute to a fellow townsman. I like it because it is in consonance with our Marion policy. Perhaps it is in the minds of some of you to wonder that we succeeded, and the thought is not exclusively yours, even if I have guessed correctly.

Reverence for Government

You view the great institution of Federal Government from afar, in that reverence which is the chief security of the Republic. **God help us to rivet that reverence more firmly!** It will not destroy it, it will only clarify that reverence and add to your confidence, if I tell you, after close range observation, that **government is not of supermen, but of normal men, very much like you and me, except that those in authority are, or ought to be, broadened and strengthened in measuring up to great responsibility.**

Let me say it to you, friends and neighbors—aye, let me say it to any who may be noting our exchange of greetings today: If I believed in

one-man government, if I believed the super-man were necessary to appeal to the sober sense of the Republic and ask our people to plant their feet in secure and forward paths once more, I would not be here in the capacity which has inspired your greetings. Normal men and back to normalcy will steady a civilization which has been fevered by the supreme upheaval of all the world.

Government is a very natural thing and in most instances ought to be a very normal and deliberate proceeding. Not always, of course, because great emergencies and crises mark all the vicissitudes of life. Normal men rise to meet them, else they never would be met.

Team Work Accomplished It

Perhaps I best can convey my thought by reverting to the community of endeavor which made the city we rejoice to boost. No super-man did it, no one man did it. We worked together, we counselled one another, we consulted men stamped with leadership, and in these processes we have achieved, and rejoiced thereat. Now make the application. **This wonderful land of ours is but the aggregate of communities, the sum total of cities, villages and farms, and the mutuality of interest and the necessary harmony of purpose, if we are to go on, must lie in conference, in council, in the concord of many minds, in the vision of plural leadership, in the never-failing righteousness of intelligent public opinion, not in the glory of the super-man.**

To Keep Our Heritage

But I did not mean to drift to things which have the savor of politics or the seriousness of governmental problems. Let us forget candidacies and political problems, and drink only of the grateful waters of home-fellowship, and renew the intimacy of acquaintances which five years of practically continuous public service have very much impaired. We are to be neighbors in fact, once more, not with all the old-time freedom, alas!—but let us cling to the naturalness which be-speaks reality.

The day, the occasion, the presence of the Republic's defenders in the world war—aye, and of veterans of the Spanish-American War and the War for Union and Nationality—all combine to remind me you have been observing the anniversary of the Republic's Independence. Let us pledge ourselves anew, one and all, that this heritage handed to us through the heroism and sacrifices of the founding fathers shall be held sacred, unabridged and undimmed, and that American nationality shall be the inspiration of the myriads of Americans of the future, even as it stirs our hearts today.

SPEECH OF ACCEPTANCE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY'S NOMINATION TO THE PRESIDENCY DELIVERED AT MARION, OHIO, JULY 22, 1920, BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING

Chairman Lodge, Members of the Notification Committee, Members of the National Committee, Ladies and Gentlemen:

The message which you have formally conveyed brings to me a realization of responsibility which is not underestimated. It is a supreme task to interpret the covenant of a great political party, the activities of which are so woven into the history of this Republic, and a very sacred and solemn undertaking to utter the faith and aspirations of the many millions who adhere to that party. The party platform has charted the way, yet, somehow, we have come to expect that interpretation which voices the faith of nominees who must assume specific tasks.

Let me be understood clearly from the very beginning: I believe in party sponsorship in government. **I believe in party government as distinguished from personal government, individual, dictatorial, autocratic or what not.** In a citizenship of more than a hundred millions it is impossible to reach agreement upon all questions. Parties are formed by those who reach a consensus of opinion. It was the intent of the founding fathers to give to this Republic a dependable and enduring popular government, representative in form, and it was designed to make political parties not only the preserving sponsors, but the effective agencies through which hopes and aspirations and convictions and conscience may be translated into public performance.

Popular government has been an inspiration of liberty since the dawn of civilizations. Republics have risen and fallen, and a transition from party to personal government has preceded every failure since the world began. **Under the Constitution we have the charted way to security and perpetuity.** We know it gave to us the safe path to a developing eminence which no people in the world ever rivalled. It has guaranteed the rule of intelligent, deliberate public opinion expressed through parties. Under this plan, a masterful leadership becomingly may manifest its influence, but a people's will still remains the supreme authority.

No One-Man Government

The American achievement under the plan of the fathers is nowhere disputed. On the contrary, the American example has been the model of every republic which glorifies the progress of liberty, and is every-

where the leaven of representative democracy which has expanded human freedom. It has been wrought through party government.

No man is big enough to run this great Republic. There never has been one. Such domination was never intended. Tranquility, stability, dependability—all are assured in party sponsorship, and we mean to renew the assurances which were rended in the cataclysmal war.

The Surrender of Congress

It was not surprising that we went far afield from safe and prescribed paths amid the war anxieties. There was the unfortunate tendency before; there was **the surrender of Congress to the growing assumption of the executive** before the world-war imperilled all the practices we had learned to believe in; and in the war emergency every safeguard was swept away. In the name of democracy we established autocracy. We are not complaining at this extraordinary bestowal or assumption in war, it seemed temporarily necessary; **our alarm is over the failure to restore the constitutional methods when the war emergency ended.**

A Restored Popular Rule

Our first committal is the restoration of representative popular government, under the Constitution, through the agency of the Republican Party. **Our vision includes more than a Chief Executive; we believe in a Cabinet of highest capacity, equal to the responsibilities which our system contemplates, in whose councils the Vice-President, second official of the Republic, shall be asked to participate. The same vision includes a cordial understanding and co-ordinated activities with a House of Congress, fresh from the people,** voicing the convictions which members bring from direct contact with the electorate, and cordial co-operation along with the restored functions of the Senate, fit to be the greatest deliberative body of the world. Its members are the designated sentinels on the towers of constitutional Government. The resumption of the Senate's authority saved to this Republic its independent nationality, when autocracy misinterpreted the dream of a world experiment to be the vision of a world ideal.

International Relations

It is not difficult, Chairman Lodge, to make ourselves clear on the question of international relationship. We Republicans of the Senate, conscious of our solemn oaths and mindful of our constitutional obligations, when we saw the structure of a world super-government taking visionary form, joined in a becoming warning of our devotion to this Republic. **If the torch of constitutionalism had not been dimmed the delayed peace of the world and the tragedy of disappoint-**

ment and Europe's misunderstanding of America easily might have been avoided. The Republicans of the Senate halted the barter of independent American eminence and influence which it was proposed to exchange for an obscure and unequal place in the merged government of the world. Our Party means to hold the heritage of American nationality unimpaired and unsundered.

We Will Not Hold Aloof

The world will not misconstrue. We do not mean to hold aloof. We do not mean to shun a single responsibility of this Republic to world civilization. There is no hate in the American heart. We have no envy, no suspicion, no aversion for any people in the world. We hold to our rights, and mean to defend, aye, we mean to sustain the rights of this nation and our citizens alike, everywhere under the shining sun. Yet there is concord of amity and sympathy and fraternity in every resolution. There is a genuine aspiration in every American breast for a tranquil friendship with all the world.

A World Made Secure

More, we believe the unspeakable sorrows, the immeasurable sacrifices, the awakened convictions and the aspiring conscience of human kind **must commit the nations of the earth to a new and better relationship.** It need not be discussed now what motives plunged the world into war, it need not be inquired whether we asked the sons of this Republic to defend our national rights, as I believe we did, or to purge the old world of the accumulated ills of rivalry and greed, the sacrifices will be in vain if we can not acclaim a new order, with added security to civilization and peace maintained.

To Preserve Our Independence

One may readily sense the conscience of our America. I am sure I understand the purpose of the dominant group of the Senate. We were not seeking to defeat a world aspiration, we were resolved to safeguard America. We were resolved then, even as we are today, and will be tomorrow, to preserve this free and independent Republic. **Let those now responsible, or seeking responsibility, propose the surrender, whether with interpretations, apologies or reluctant reservations—from which our rights are to be omitted—we welcome the referendum to the American people on the preservation of America, and the Republican Party pledges its defense of the preserved inheritance of national freedom.**

Immediate Peace

In the call of the conscience of America is peace, peace that closes the gaping wound of the world war, and silences the impassioned voices

of international envy and distrust. Heeding this call and knowing as I do the disposition of Congress, **I promise you formal and effective peace so quickly as a Republican Congress can pass its declaration for a Republican executive to sign.** Then we may turn to our readjustment at home and proceed deliberately and reflectively to that hoped-for world relationship which shall satisfy both conscience and aspirations and still hold us free from menacing involvement.

An Association of Nations

I can hear in the call of conscience an insistent voice for the largely reduced armaments throughout the world, with attending reduction of burdens upon peace-loving humanity. We wish to give of American influence and example; we must give of American leadership to that invaluable accomplishment.

I can speak unreservedly of the American aspirations and the Republican committal for an association of nations, co-operating in sublime accord, to attain and preserve peace through justice rather than force, determined to add to security through international law, so clarified that no misconstruction can be possible without affronting world honor.

No Super-Government

This Republic can never be unmindful of its power, and must never forget the force of its example. Possessor of might that admits no fear, America must stand foremost for the right. If the mistaken voice of America, spoken in unheeding haste, led Europe, in the hour of deepest anxiety, into a military alliance which menaces peace and threatens all freedom, instead of adding to their security, then we must speak the truth for America and express our hope for the fraternized conscience of nations.

It will avail nothing to discuss in detail **the League Covenant, which was conceived for world super-government, negotiated in misunderstanding, and intolerantly urged and demanded by its administration sponsors, who resisted every effort to safeguard America, and who finally rejected it when such safeguards were inserted.** If the supreme blunder has left European relationships inextricably interwoven in the League compact, our sympathy for Europe only magnifies our own good fortune in resisting involvement. [It is better to be the free and disinterested agent of international justice and advancing civilization, with the covenant of conscience, than be shackled by a written compact which surrenders our freedom of action and gives a military alliance the right to proclaim America's duty to the world.

No Mandate Wars for Our Sons

No surrender of rights to a world council or its military alliance,

no assumed mandatory, however appealing, ever shall summon the sons of this Republic to war. Their supreme sacrifice shall only be asked for America and its call of honor. There is a sanctity in that right we will not delegate.

Free Help is the Best Help

When the compact was being written, I do not know whether Europe asked or ambition insistently bestowed. It was so good to rejoice in the world's confidence in our unselfishness that I can believe our evident disinterestedness inspired Europe's wish for our association quite as much as the selfish thought of enlisting American power and resources. Ours is an outstanding, influential example to the world, whether we cloak it in spoken modesty or magnify it in exaltation. We want to help; we mean to help; but we hold to our own interpretation of the American conscience as the very soul of our nationality.

The Consecration of Nations

Disposed as we are the way is very simple. Let the failure attending assumption, obstinacy, impracticability and delay be recognized, and **let us find the big, practical, unselfish way to do our part, neither covetous because of ambition, nor hesitant through fear, but ready to serve ourselves, humanity and God.** With a Senate advising as the Constitution contemplates, I would hopefully approach the nations of Europe and of the earth, proposing that understanding which makes us a willing participant in the consecration of nations to a new relationship, to commit the moral forces of the world, America included, to peace and international justice, still leaving America free, independent and self-reliant, but offering friendship to all the world.

Be Americans First

If men call for more specific details, I remind them that moral commitments are broad and all-inclusive, and we are contemplating peoples in the concord of humanity's advancement. From our own viewpoint the program is specifically American, and we mean to be American first, to all the world.

Appraising preserved nationality as the first essential to the continued progress of the Republic there is linked with it the supreme necessity of the restoration—let us say the revelation—of the Constitution, and our reconstruction as an industrial nation. Here is the transcending task. It concerns our common weal at home and will decide our future eminence in the world. More than these, this Republic, under constitutional liberties, has given to mankind the most fortunate conditions for human activity and attainment the world has ever noted, and we are today the world's reserve force in the great con-

test for liberty through security, and maintained equality of opportunity and its righteous rewards.

The "Red" Conflagration

It is folly to close our eyes to outstanding facts. Humanity is restive, much of the world is in revolution, the agents of discord and destruction have wrought their tragedy in pathetic Russia, have lighted their torches among other peoples, and hope to see America as a part of the great Red conflagration. Ours is the temple of liberty under the law, and it is ours to call the Sons of Opportunity to its defense. America must not only save herself, but ours must be the appealing voice to sober the world.

The Weal of the Many

More than all else the present-day world needs understanding. There can be no peace save through composed differences, and the submission of the individual to the will and weal of the many. Any other plan means anarchy and its rule of force.

It must be understood that toil alone makes for accomplishment and advancement, and righteous possession is the reward of toil, and its incentive. There is no progress except in the stimulus of competition.

For Restored Competition

When competition—natural, fair, impelling competition—is suppressed, whether by law, compact or conspiracy, we halt the march of progress, silence the voice of inspiration, and paralyze the will for achievement. These are but common sense truths of human development.

High Wages for High Production

The chief trouble today is that the world war wrought the destruction of healthful competition, left our storehouses empty, and there is a minimum production when our need is maximum. Maximums, not minimums, is the call of America. It isn't a new story, because war never fails to leave depleted storehouses and always impairs the efficiency of production. War also establishes its higher standards for wages, and they abide. **I wish the higher wage to abide, on one explicit condition—that the wage-earner will give full return for the wage received.** It is the best assurance we can have for a reduced cost of living. Mark you, I am ready to acclaim the highest standard of pay, but I would be blind to the responsibility that marks this fateful hour if I did not caution the wage-earners of America that mounting wages and decreased production can lead only to industrial and economic ruin.

I want, somehow, to appeal to the sons and daughters of the Republic, to every producer, to **join hand and brain in production, more production, honest production, patriotic production, because patriotic production is no less a defense of our best civilization than that of armed force. Profiteering is a crime of commission, under-production is a crime of omission.** We must work our most and best, else the destructive reaction will come. We must stabilize and strive for normalcy, else the inevitable reaction will bring its train of sufferings, disappointments and reversals. We want to forestall such reaction, we want to hold all advanced ground, and fortify it with general good-fortune.

Capital and Labor Interdependent

Let us return for a moment to the necessity for understanding, particularly that understanding which concerns ourselves at home. I decline to recognize any conflict of interest among the participants in industry. The destruction of one is the ruin of the other, the suspicion or rebellion of one unavoidably involves the other. In conflict is disaster, in understanding there is triumph. There is no issue relating to the foundation on which industry is builded, because industry is bigger than any element in its modern making. But the insistent call is for labor, management and capital to reach understanding.

The Hopes of the Wage-Earner

The human element comes first, and **I want the employers in industry to understand the aspirations, the convictions, the yearnings of the millions of American wage-earners, and I want the wage-earners to understand the problems, the anxieties, the obligations of management and capital, and all of them must understand their relationship to the people and their obligation to the Republic.** Out of this understanding will come the unanimous committal to economic justice, and in economic justice lies that social justice which is the highest essential to human happiness.

I am speaking as one who has counted the contents of the pay envelope from the viewpoint of the earner as well as the employer. No one pretends to deny the inequalities which are manifest in modern industrial life. They are less, in fact, than they were before organization and grouping on either side revealed the inequalities, and conscience has wrought more justice than statutes have compelled, but the ferment of the world rivets our thoughts on the necessity of progressive solution, else our generation will suffer the experiment which means chaos for our day to re-establish God's plan for the great tomorrow.

Liberty Under the Law

Speaking our sympathies, uttering the conscience of all the people,

mindful of our right to dwell amid the good fortunes of rational, conscience-impelled advancement, we hold the majesty of righteous government, with liberty under the law, to be our avoidance of chaos, and we call upon every citizen of the Republic to hold fast to that which made us what we are, and we will have orderly government safeguard the onward march to all we ought to be.

The menacing tendency of the present day is not chargeable wholly to the unsettled and fevered conditions caused by the war. The manifest weakness in popular government lies in the temptation to appeal to grouped citizenship for political advantage. There is no greater peril. **The Constitution contemplates no class and recognizes no group.** It broadly includes all the people, with specific recognition for none, and the highest consecration we can make today is a committal of the Republican Party to that saving constitutionalism which contemplates all America as one people, and holds just government free from influence on the one hand and unmoved by intimidation on the other.

Free Speech, Press and Assembly

It would be the blindness of folly to ignore the activities in our own country which are aimed to destroy our economic system, and to commit us to the colossal tragedy which has both destroyed all freedom and made Russia impotent. This movement is not to be halted in throttled liberties. **We must not abridge the freedom of speech, the freedom of press, or the freedom of assembly, because there is no promise in repression.** These liberties are as sacred as the freedom of religious belief, as inviolable as the rights of life and the pursuit of happiness. We do hold to the right to crush sedition, to stifle a menacing contempt for law, to stamp out a peril to the safety of the Republic or its people, when emergency calls, because security and the majesty of the law are the first essentials of liberty. He who threatens the destruction of the Government by force or flaunts his contempt for lawful authority, ceases to be a loyal citizen and forfeits his rights to the freedom of the Republic.

The Minorities' Privileges

Let it be said to all of America that our plan of popular government contemplates such orderly changes as the crystallized intelligence of the majority of our people think best. There can be no modification of this underlying rule, but no majority shall abridge the rights of a minority. Men have a right to question our system in fullest freedom, but they must always remember that the rights of freedom impose the obligations which maintain it. Our policy is not of repression, but we make appeal today to American intelligence and patriotism, when the

Republic is menaced from within, just as we trusted American patriotism when our rights were threatened from without.

Collective Bargaining and Personal Rights

We call on all America for steadiness, so that we may proceed deliberately to the readjustment which concerns all the people. Our Party platform fairly expresses the conscience of Republicans on industrial relations. No party is indifferent to the welfare of the wage-earner. To us his good fortune is of deepest concern, and we seek to make that good fortune permanent. **We do not oppose but approve collective bargaining, because that is an outstanding right, but we are unalterably insistent that its exercise must not destroy the equally sacred right of the individual, in his necessary pursuit of livelihood. Any American has the right to quit his employment, so has every American the right to seek employment. The group must not endanger the individual, and we must discourage groups preying upon one another, and none shall be allowed to forget that government's obligations are alike to all the people.**

Strikes and the People

I hope we may do more than merely discourage the losses and sufferings attending industrial conflict. The strike against the Government is properly denied, for Government service involves none of the elements of profit which relate to competitive enterprise. There is progress in the establishment of official revelation of issues and conditions which lead to conflict, so that unerring public sentiment may speed the adjustment, but I hope for that concord of purpose, not forced but inspired by the common weal, which will give a regulated public service the fullest guaranty of continuity.

Justice to Railroads and Workers

I am thinking of the railroads. In modern life they are the very base of all our activities and interchanges. For public protection we have enacted laws providing for a regulation of the charge for service, a limitation on the capital invested and a limitation on capital's earnings. There remains only competition of service, on which to base our hopes for an efficiency and expansion which meet our modern requirements. The railway workmen ought to be the best paid and know the best working conditions in the world. Theirs is an exceptional responsibility. They are not only essential to the life and health and all productive activities of the people, but they are directly responsible for the safety of traveling millions. **The government which has assumed so much authority for the public good might well stamp railway employment with the sanctity of public service and guarantee to the railway employes that justice which voices the American concep-**

tion of righteousness on the one hand, and assures continuity of service on the other.

No Government Ownership

The importance of the railway rehabilitation is so obvious that reference seems uncalled for. We are so confident that much of the present-day insufficiency and inefficiency of transportation are due to the withering hand of government operation that **we emphasize anew our opposition to government ownership; we want to expedite the reparation, and make sure the mistake is not repeated.**

To Encourage Rehabilitation

It is little use to recite the story of development, exploitation, government experiment and its neglect, government operation and its failures. The inadequacy of trackage and terminal facilities, the insufficiency of equipment and the inefficiency of operation—all bear the blighting stamp of governmental incapacity during Federal operation. The work of rehabilitation under the restoration of private ownership deserves our best encouragement. Billions are needed in new equipment, not alone to meet the growing demand for service, but to restore the extraordinary depreciation due to the strained service of war. With restricted earnings, and with speculative profits removed, railway activities have come to the realm of conservative and constructive service, and the government which impaired must play its part in restoration. Manifestly the returns must be so gauged that necessary capital may be enlisted, and we must foster as well as restrain.

A Spirit of Assistance

We have no more pressing problem. A state of inadequate transportation facilities, mainly chargeable to the failure of governmental experiment, is losing millions to agriculture, it is hindering industry, it is menacing the American people with a fuel shortage little less than a peril. It emphasizes the present-day problem, and suggests that spirit of encouragement and assistance which commits all America to relieve such an emergency.

Helping Highway Construction

The one compensation amid attending anxieties is our new and needed realization of the vital part transportation plays in the complexities of modern life. We are not to think of rails alone, but highways from farm to market, from railway to farm, arteries of life-blood to present-day life, the quickened ways to communication and exchange, the answer of our people to the motor age. **We believe in generous federal co-operation in construction, linked with assurances of maintenance that will put an end to criminal waste of public funds on the one hand and give a guaranty of upkept highways on the other.**

Water transportation is inseparably linked with adequacy of facilities, and we favor American eminence on the seas, the practical development of inland waterways, the upbuilding and co-ordination of all to make them equal to and ready for every call of developing and widening American commerce. I like that recommittal to thoughts of America first which pledges the Panama Canal, an American creation, to the free use of American shipping. It will add to the American reawakening.

The High Cost of Living

One cannot speak of industry and commerce, and the transportation on which they are dependent, without an earnest thought of the abnormal cost of living and the problems in its wake. It is easy to inveigh, but that avails nothing. And it is far too serious to dismiss with flaming but futile promises.

Eight years ago, in times of peace, the Democratic Party made it an issue, and when clothed with power that party came near to its accomplishment by destroying the people's capacity to buy. **But there was a cure worse than the ailment.** It is easy to understand the real causes, after which the patient must help to effect his own cure.

Inflated Dollars

Gross expansion of currency and credit have depreciated the dollar just as expansion and inflation have discredited the coins of the world. We inflated in haste, we must deflate in deliberation. We debased the dollar in reckless finance, we must restore in honesty. **Deflation on the one hand and restoration of the 100-cent dollar on the other ought to have begun on the day after the armistice,** but plans were lacking or courage failed. **The unpreparedness for peace was little less costly than unpreparedness for war.**

The End of Extravagance

We can promise no one remedy which will cure an ill of such wide proportions, but **we do pledge that earnest and consistent attack which the party platform covenants.** We will attempt intelligent and courageous deflation, and strike at government borrowing which enlarges the evil, and we will attack high cost of government with every energy and facility which attend Republican capacity. We promise that relief which will attend the halting of waste and extravagance, and the renewal of the practice of public economy, not alone because it will relieve tax burdens, but because it will be an example to stimulate thrift and economy in private life.

I have already alluded to the necessity for the fullness of production, and we need the fullness of service which attends the exchange of prod-

ucts. Let us speak the irrefutable truth—high wages and reduced cost of living are in utter contradiction unless we have the height of efficiency for wages received.

A Challenge to Profiteering

In all sincerity we promise the prevention of unreasonable profits, we challenge profiteering with all the moral force and the legal powers of government and people, but it is fair, aye, it is timely, to give reminder that law is not the sole corrective of our economic ills.

Let us call to all the people for thrift and economy, for denial and sacrifice, if need be, for a nation-wide drive against extravagance and luxury, to a recommittal to simplicity of living, to that prudent and normal plan of life which is the health of the Republic. There hasn't been a recovery from the waste and abnormalities of war since the story of mankind was first written, except through work and saving, through industry and denial, while needless spending and heedless extravagance have marked every decay in the history of nations. Give the assurance of that rugged simplicity of American life which marked the first century of amazing development, and this generation may underwrite a second century of surpassing accomplishment.

A New Agricultural Program

The Republican Party was founded by farmers, with the sensitive conscience born of their freedom and their simple lives. These founders sprang from the farms of the then Middle West. Our party has never failed in its realization that agriculture is essentially the foundation of our very existence, and it has ever been our policy, purpose and performance, to protect and promote that essential industry.

New conditions, which attend amazing growth and extraordinary industrial development, call for a **new and forward-looking program**. The American farmer had a hundred and twenty millions to feed in the home market, and heard the cry of the world for food and answered it, though he faced an appalling task, amid handicaps never encountered before.

The Farmers' Difficulties

In the rise of price levels there have come increased appraisals to his acres without adding to their value in fact, but which do add to his taxes and expenses without enhancing his returns. His helpers have yielded to the lure of shop and city, until, almost alone, he has met and borne the burden of the only insistent attempts to force down prices. It challenges both the wisdom and the justice of artificial drives on prices to recall that they were effective almost solely against his products in the hands of the producer, and never effective against the same products in passing to the consumer. Contemplating the defenseless-ness of the individual

farmer to meet the organized buyers of his products, and the distributors of the things the farmer buys I hold that **farmers should not only be permitted but encouraged to join in co-operative association to reap the just measure of reward merited by their arduous toil.** Let us facilitate co-operation to insure against the risks attending agriculture, which the urban world so little understands, and a like co-operation to market their products as directly as possible with the consumer, in the interests of all. Upon such association and co-operation should be laid only such restrictions as will prevent arbitrary control of our food supply and the fixing of extortionate price upon it.

Intensive Cultivation

Our platform is an earnest pledge of renewed concern for this most essential and elemental industry, and in both appreciation and interest we pledge effective expression in law and practice. **We will hail that co-operation which again will make profitable and desirable the ownership and operation of comparatively small farms intensively cultivated, and which will facilitate the caring for the products of farm and orchard without the lamentable waste under present conditions.**

Putting the Farmer on the Map

America would look with anxiety on the discouragement of farming activity, either through the Government's neglect or its paralysis by socialistic practices. **A Republican administration will be committed to renewed regard for agriculture, and seek the participation of farmers in curing the ills justly complained of, and aim to place the American farm where it ought to be—highly ranked in American activities and fully sharing the highest good fortunes of American life.**

Becomingly associated with this subject are the policies of **irrigation and reclamation**, so essential to agricultural expansion, and the continued development of the great and wonderful West. It is our purpose to continue and enlarge Federal aid, not in sectional partiality, but for the good of all America. We hold to that harmony of relationship between conservation and development which fittingly appraises our natural resources and makes them available to developing America of today, and still holds to the conservation thought for the America of tomorrow.

Reclamation and Development

The Federal Government's relation to reclamation and development is too important to admit of ample discussion today. Alaska, alone, is rich in resources beyond all imagination, and needs only closer linking, through lines of transportation, and a government policy that both safeguards and encourages development, to speed it to a foremost posi-

tion as a commonwealth, rugged in citizenship and rich in materialized resources.

These things I can only mention. Within becoming limits one cannot say more. Indeed, for the present, many questions of vast importance must be hastily passed, reserving a fuller discussion to suitable occasion as the campaign advances.

A Business-Like Administration

I believe the budget system will effect a necessary helpful reformation, and reveal business methods to government business.

I believe Federal departments should be made more business-like and send back to productive effort thousands of Federal employees, who are either duplicating work or not essential at all.

I believe in the protective tariff policy and know we will be calling for its saving Americanism again.

I believe in a great merchant marine—I would have this Republic the leading maritime nation of the world.

I believe in a navy ample to protect it, and able to assure us dependable defense.

A Small Army, But the Best

I believe in a small army, but the best in the world, with a mindfulness for preparedness which will avoid the unutterable cost of our previous neglect.

I believe in our eminence in trade abroad, which the Government should aid in expanding, both in revealing markets and speeding cargoes.

I believe in established standards for immigration, which are concerned with the future citizenship of the republic, not with mere manpower in industry.

I believe that every man who dons the garb of American citizenship and walks in the light of American opportunity, must **become American in heart and soul.**

I believe in holding fast to every forward step in **unshackling child-labor** and elevating conditions of woman's employment.

I believe the Federal Government should **stamp out lynching** and remove that stain from the fair name of America.

I believe the Federal Government should give its effective aid in solving **the problem of ample and becoming housing** of its citizenship.

I believe this Government should make its **Liberty and Victory bonds worth all that its patriotic citizens paid in purchasing them.**

I believe the **tax burdens imposed for the war emergency must be revised** to the needs of peace, and in the interest of equity in distribution of the burden.

I believe **the Negro citizens of America should be guaranteed the enjoyment of all their rights**, that they have earned the full measure of citizenship bestowed, that their sacrifices in blood on the battlefields of the Republic have entitled them to all of freedom and opportunity, all of sympathy and aid that the American spirit of fairness and justice demands.

The Mexican Question

I believe **there is an easy and open path to righteous relationship with Mexico**. It has seemed to me that our undeveloped, uncertain and infirm policy has made us a culpable party to the governmental misfortunes in that land. Our relations ought to be both friendly and sympathetic; we would like to acclaim a stable government there, and offer a neighborly hand in pointing the way to greater progress. It will be simple to have a plain and neighborly understanding, merely an understanding about respecting our borders, about protecting the lives and possessions of American citizens lawfully within the Mexican dominions. There must be that understanding, else there can be no recognition, and then the understanding must be faithfully kept.

Many of these declarations deserve a fuller expression, with some suggestions of plans to emphasize the faith. Such expression will follow in due time, I promise you.

The Eighteenth Amendment

I believe in **law-enforcement**. If elected I mean to be a constitutional president, and it is impossible to ignore the Constitution, unthinkable to evade a law, when our every committal is to orderly government. People ever will differ about the wisdom of the enactment of a law—there is divided opinion respecting the Eighteenth Amendment and the laws enacted to make it operative—but there can be no difference of opinion about honest law-enforcement.

Don't Cheat the People!

Neither government nor party can afford to cheat the American people. The laws of Congress must harmonize with the Constitution, else they soon are adjudged to be void; Congress enacts the laws, and the executive branch of the Government is charged with enforcement. We cannot nullify because of divided opinion, we cannot jeopardize orderly government with contempt for law-enforcement. Modification or repeal is the right of a free people whenever the deliberate and intelligent

public sentiment commands, but perversion and evasion mark the paths to the failure of government itself.

Men and Women of the War

Though not in any partisan sense, I must speak of the services of the men and women who rallied to the colors of the Republic in the World War. America realizes and appreciates the services rendered, the sacrifices made and the sufferings endured. **There shall be no distinction between those who knew the perils and glories of the battle-front or the dangers of the sea, and those who were compelled to serve behind the lines, or those who constituted the great reserve of a grand army which awaited the call in camps at home.**

All were brave, all were sacrificing, all were sharers of those ideals which sent our boys thrice-armed to war. Worthy sons and daughters, these, fit successors to those who christened our banners in the immortal beginning, worthy sons of those who saved the Union and nationality when civil war wiped the ambiguity from the Constitution, ready sons of those who drew the sword for humanity's sake the first time in the world, in 1898.

Requiting the Sacrifices

The four million defenders on land and sea were worthy of the best traditions of a people never warlike in peace and never pacifist in war. They commanded our pride, they have our gratitude, which must have genuine expression. It is not only a duty, it is a privilege, to see that the sacrifices made shall be requited, and that those still suffering from casualties and disabilities shall be abundantly aided, and restored to the highest capabilities of citizenship and its enjoyment.

Woman Suffrage

The womanhood of America, always its glory, its inspiration, and the potent uplifting force in its social and spiritual development, is about to be enfranchised. Insofar as Congress can go, the fact is already accomplished. **By party edict, by my recorded vote, by personal conviction, I am committed to this measure of justice. It is my earnest hope, my sincere desire that the one needed State vote be quickly recorded in the affirmation of the right of equal suffrage and that the vote of every citizen shall be cast and counted in the approaching election.**

Alert Mind, Quickened Conscience

Let us not share the apprehensions of many men and women as to the danger of this momentous extension of the franchise. Women have never been without influence in our political life. Enfranchisement will bring to the polls the votes of citizens who have been born upon our soil,

or who have sought in faith and assurance the freedom and opportunities of our land. It will bring the women educated in our schools, trained in our customs and habits of thought, and sharers of our problems. It will bring the alert mind, the awakened conscience, the sure intuition, the abhorrence of tyranny or oppression, the wide and tender sympathy that distinguish the women of America. Surely there can be no danger there.

And to the great number of noble women who have opposed in conviction this tremendous change in the ancient relation of the sexes as applied to government, I venture to plead that they will accept the full responsibility of enlarged citizenship, and give to the best in the Republic their suffrage and support.

Patriotism—And More

Much has been said of late about world ideals, but I prefer to think of the ideal for America. I like to think there is something more than the patriotism and practical wisdom of the founding fathers. It is good to believe that maybe destiny held this New World Republic to be the supreme example of representative democracy and orderly liberty by which humanity is inspired to higher achievement. It is idle to think we have attained perfection, but there is the satisfying knowledge that we hold orderly processes for making our government reflect the heart and mind of the Republic. Ours is not only a fortunate people but a very commonsensical people, with vision high, but their feet on the earth, with belief in themselves and faith in God. **Whether enemies threaten from without or menaces arise from within, there is some indefinable voice saying, "Have confidence in the Republic! America will go on!"**

A House Founded on a Rock

Here is a temple of liberty no storms may shake, here are the altars of freedom no passions shall destroy. It was American in conception, American in its building, it shall be American in its fulfillment. Sectional once, we are all American now, and we mean to be all Americans to all the world.

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, my countrymen all: I would not be my natural self if I did not utter my consciousness of my limited ability to meet your full expectations, or to realize the aspirations within my own breast, but **I will gladly give all that is in me, all of heart, soul and mind and abiding love of country, to service in our common cause. I can only pray to the Omnipotent God that I may be as worthy in service as I know myself to be faithful in thought and purpose.** One can not give more.

Mindful of the vast responsibilities, I must be frankly humble, but I have that confidence in the consideration and support of all true Americans which makes me wholly unafraid. **With an unalterable faith and**

in a hopeful spirit, with a hymn of service in my heart, I pledge fidelity to our country and to God, and accept the nomination of the Republican Party for the Presidency of the United States.

A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING, TO RICHLAND COUNTY, OHIO, HARDING AND COOLIDGE CLUB, MARION, OHIO

Mr. Cappeller, and Members of the Richland County Harding and Coolidge Club, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is with a keen sense of delight that I welcome your visit today. There is to me a special pleasure in your call. As your spokesman has said, our relations in the years gone by have been rather intimate, and I gladly recall the cordial friendship the people of Richland County have made manifest in the past. It gives me added pleasure, Mr. Cappeller, to recall the valued friendship of your lamented father. It was good to know him as a friend.

I am pleased that you come not only as Republicans, but as neighbors and friends. We need to cultivate friendliness and neighborliness. I sometimes think in this busy, workaday world we are neglecting those little acts of neighborliness that make life sweet and worth while. It is well enough for one to strive to get ahead in a material sense for through that ambition human progress is wrought. To acquire and accumulate honestly is most laudable, but we should not forget that life's greatest joys lie in the social concourse of friends and neighbors. Out of such relations grow mutual respect, mutual sympathy and mutual interest, without which life holds little of real enjoyment.

I feel myself almost a part of Richland County. Our people, early in the last century, settled in a section that was bounded by Richland and Crawford Counties, and my earliest recollections are of grists taken to Lexington for grinding. I recall distinctly the stories of my great-grandmother, who related to me how she had often gone with one bag of wheat on horseback, while the men were busy in the fields, and the cries of the wolves were a frequent accompaniment to the wearied homeward journey. That was in the days when heroes were without fame's acclaim, when a sturdy manhood and womanhood were battling with the wilderness to reveal Ohio to the star of empire, westward marching. Sometimes I am accused of living in the past, but, frankly, I find the story of their making Ohio very fascinating, and drink new inspiration in recalling the paths they trod and the works they wrought. The miracle in developing

America has its lessons, and emphasizes our resolution to hold fast to all the advancement they made, and go on securely toward all we hope to be.

You have a population whose seed is of the sturdiest and best. Richland County was organized during the second war with Great Britain in 1813, from settlers largely from Pennsylvania. The county takes its name from the soil—rich land—and the quality, quantity and variety of foodstuffs yearly produced justifies the choice of the name. Your farmers have long enjoyed a reputation for skill and success in the improvement of farm stock breeds. You have likewise developed industrially, and your county, like ours, is an outstanding proof of that good fortune which lies in factory and farm, moving in accord to make the ideal combination. Having prospered materially, your county has been likewise fortunate in the quality of its people, from among whom have come many notable men to write their names upon the imperishable tablets of the nation's history. The Brinkerhoffs—Roeliff and Jacob—the first a soldier and later a renowned humanitarian; the latter a jurist who graced Ohio's supreme bench with dignity and learning. It was Jacob Brinkerhoff, who, as a member of congress, was the actual author of the famous Wilmot Proviso, the original draft of which was in his possession at the time of his death. It is said that having drawn the same he distributed copies among a number of Free Soil members of the House of Congress with the understanding that the one who could first catch the speaker's eye should offer it. The opportunity fell to David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, whose name has thus come down to history.

Winfield Scott Kerr, who rose from a crippled railroad brakeman to a prominent place in Congress, Michael D. Harter, Congressman and head of the great Aultman and Taylor Company; a genial gentleman, patriot and public spirited—both were known to all Ohio.

Mordecai Bartley, a wilderness settler, was the thirteenth Governor of Ohio. I could multiply these examples of your fellow citizens worthy of mention did time permit. Let me make reference to our late lamented friend, Henry C. Hedges, one of the best beloved men of Ohio, whose kindly interest in young men will ever remain a great spot in my recollection.

I should fail utterly in my duty to his memory and to his great achievements did I not mention that great statesman, John Sherman, one of the fathers of the Republican party. He began his remarkable public career with his election to congress in 1855. Throughout the dark and stormy years of the Civil War he served his country in Congress—in both House and Senate—and remained continuously in the public service, either in the Senate or the Cabinet, until 1898. For forty-three years he helped to write the glorious record of the Republic in statute

law and service in the Cabinet. No man in our public life has rendered more distinguished or valuable services than Senator Sherman.

The especial thought in my mind today is the inter-dependence and the mutuality of interest of all our people. One could underwrite the good fortunes of mankind if he could guarantee in prosperity and fraternity—that common interest—which is born of adversity. The Pilgrim Fathers laid their eternal foundations of new-world liberty in grim necessity, and the same spirit, the same concord, the same mutuality followed every pioneering step in the development of the republic.

The tendency of class consciousness is a product of developing fortunes, and is both a reflex of achievement and a menace to maintained progress. We must caution against class distinction and class conflict at every step.

Here in the Middle West, where farming is free from tenantry and holds to the normal way, and manufacturing is mainly confined to the plants of that moderate size which indexes the surpassing fabric of American industry, we have the touch of intimacy and that closer understanding which emphasizes the thought I have in mind. We cannot promote agriculture alone, because the factory is necessary to the making of a market. We cannot foster the factory and ignore agriculture, because the farm is our base of food supply.

I can readily recall forty-cent wheat, flayed from the fields of Richland and Morrow. That was before industry developed the home consumer, that was before railways and improved highways opened the way to markets. That was when farming was a fight for subsistence, instead of the present-day pursuit of attainment. That was before luxury became the by-product of farm and factory. That was before the age of agricultural machinery, that was when we cradled the wheat and toiled from sunrise to sunset, that was before wealth had been taken from the earth to alter the way of our civilization.

I trust no one will misquote me as saying I believe in forty-cent wheat, because I have indulged my memory. Sometimes we are very unfair in handling the utterances of public men. I remember, when the Senate was discussing the war-time guarantee on wheat, when we felt we ought to give the American farmer that assurance which would encourage a seeding to guard against war famine, a western Senator was arguing that wheat could not be raised for less than \$2.50 a bushel. I interrupted him to say that I well recalled that Ohio farmers, in pre-war days, had rejoiced to get a dollar for their wheat. I was speaking of normal days prior to the war. You will bear me witness that I spoke fairly and correctly. Yet there are those today who seek to convey that I said a dollar a bushel is enough for wheat today. I am not so annoyed at the

silly untruth as I am distressed at the affront to ordinary intelligence.

Pardon the diversion. I was recalling the old-time low level of prices, to recall at the same time the peoples' inability to buy, and to remind you that mounting farm prices, mounting wages, mounting expenditures—all are inseparably linked, and a grim mutuality will ultimately assert itself no matter what we do. But a mindfulness of this mutuality will spare us the inequalities and the grievances which come of forced adjustment.

There is no living today or tomorrow according to the standards of yesterday. Every normal being is looking forward. We collect more federal taxes in one year than the entire wealth of the republic a century ago. Only a little while ago our grievances about taxes were wholly local, because a half century of Republican control of the federal government held us free from direct burdens. But the changed policy, the democratic drift to freedom of trade which is international rather than national, and mounting cost of government and finally war burdens, turned federal taxation to a colossal burden. No one seriously complained while the national crisis hung over us, but we must work a readjustment for stabilized and prosperous peace. We ought to make wealth bear its full share of tax burdens, and we ever will. Having this thought in mind and also thinking of the excessive cost of living, I doubt if the excess profits tax for war precisely accomplishes the end we seek in peace, though we do not disagree about the worthy intent. Its operations have been disappointing, its costs multiplied and pyramided, and righteous changes and modifications ought be sought at an early day. I would gladly recommend a change, but I am not yet prepared to suggest an equitable substitute, though I should have no hesitancy in asking Congress to seek the earliest possible solution. The reduced cost of government is already pledged, and reduced appropriation by Congress is already recorded. We must not paralyze American production by taxation at home or destructive competition from abroad, because our mutual interest in productivity has made us what we are.

Despite all the deprecation, I cannot bring myself to accept the notion that the inter-relation among our men and women has departed. We are a democratic people. Our state was founded by people who brought with them the ancient social customs of neighborhood confraternity—that tie that knits communities together, whose widening circle makes of the mass a homogeneous people.

It is good that our producing interests are diversified. In that lies our great strength as a nation. The manufacturing centers and the food-producing areas complement and supplement each other. These two grand divisions are bound together by common ties of nationality, of

history and of aspiration. There is not and there must be no conflict between them. Our imperial domain provides us with the material means of our greatness. There is a disposition of some to inveigh against one section or another, as selfish interest may suggest, but the broad national welfare contemplates no East and no West, no North and no South. Pride and locality is most commendable but patriotism is not sectional. Politically we may divide as God gives us to see the right, but materially, socially and economically we must be an entity—united, harmonious and interdependent.

I rejoice to recall that when the great world war summoned our sons duty and to death, perhaps, there was no question about geography. The boys of the North 'dressed front' with the sons of the South, and all went triumphantly forward to undying fame, never questioning the origin or the environment, much less the locality of their comrades. Upon the mossy rocks in the gloomy and fateful forests of the Argonne are commingled the blood of the plains and of the metropolis, with that of the boys of the Great Lakes and sons from the land of the palmetto and the fragrant magnolia.

By cultivating the spirit of friendliness, by a recognition of interdependence, the problems of life are made much easier for all. There is a growing tendency to look to government for all remedies, forgetting there are natural laws that will operate to correct evils, if given a fair chance. Oftentimes well-meaning laws defeat the very object they are designed to accomplish.

If the great world war held for us nothing else, it did teach us that there is something more than gain to be striven for in this world. We can hail the lofty and blessed rule of commingling friendship. Having given our splendid lesson, let us present to the world another example, that of concord among ourselves, and make America safe for Americans and the loftiest example of representative democracy.

Our country holds out opportunity to all, but upon the supreme condition that those who would avail themselves of that opportunity shall be entirely worthy, and know and accept fully the spirit of American institutions.

There is an example in both Richland and Marion of the making of Americans who were foreign born, which all America might well ponder. Many hundreds of your neighbors and mine came from lands across the sea. They came to become citizens and accept the obligations as well as the advantages of American citizenship. We welcomed them cordially, and they became participants in our activities, sharers in our disappointments and our triumphs. They walked with us in the fraternity and mutuality of citizenship, and are of the empire builders and the republic's defenders.

Out of varied nativity we wrought American nationality. Out of old world representatives, resolved to start anew, in supreme mutuality of interest, we wrought the loftiest example of representative democracy the world has known. I utter my gratitude as a fellow-citizen, and want to supplement it with my conviction as a Republican, charged with party spokesmanship, that our highest duty is to cling to the fundamentals on which we builded to world astonishment and hold fast to the nationality which inspired our onward march.

Between Marion and Mansfield is an interesting illustration of national adjustment to the program of progress. The Erie Railroad, once the old Atlantic and Great Western, was originally broad-gauged and single track. It could fairly serve only its constituency, because its cars could not transfer to other lines. One day, memorable for its engineering feat, it was reduced to standard gauge in a few hours, then it could transfer its cargoes to other lines as well as receive shipments sent from afar. It yielded to the standard of mutuality. Later on, development demanded the double track. Those of you who have noted it, will recall that the original track follows one grade, the new track is builded to another, yet they are used with like frequency, one one way, and one the other way. The thoughtful engineers, adjusted the new grade to the trend of traffic, and difficult grades were avoided. To the passing eye these tracks are not of the same line, but actually they are, retaining the original and adjusting the new to ease the loads over the grades. Is there not an application in the advancing way of America? We must cling to the sure route of splendid development and meet the new demands by so building as to eliminate the grades by which our activities are impeded.

A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING TO DELEGATION FROM WAYNE COUNTY, OHIO, MARION, OHIO, AUGUST 4, 1920

Judge Taggart, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I like the sentiments you have expressed, particularly those relating to your "community of homes—American homes—where American thought and American ideas flourish." If we only cling to lofty American ideas, and steadfastly and becomingly think of America first, there need be no doubt about the future of this Republic.

You must be confidently and fearlessly American to measure to the renowned name of Wayne. The story of Wayne County is that of the great beginning of the Northwest territory, whose sturdy citizenship was strengthened by the hardships of the forest pioneer. We contemplate the Ohio of today, little dreaming of the heroism recorded in its making, little realizing what a century and a quarter has wrought, little appreciating what we owe to those who faced the dangers of the wilderness to make our present-day commonwealth of homes. The pioneers gave the conquering westward march of civilization, our obligations are to preserve and defend. Some day I hope we shall fittingly commemorate the sacrifices and the achievements of those courageous frontiersmen and their strong-hearted women. Perhaps they did not dream of the empire of today, but they had implanted in their hearts the westward planting of the outposts of the new world civilization. If the discovering Spaniard stood only at the gateway and marveled, these messengers of independence, nationality and American hope halted midway to the Mississippi, and had no dreams beyond. Their achievements are unparalleled in all the world's history. Theirs was the prelude to the supreme revelation, Theirs was the unveiling of a physically incomparable land, and they reared sons and daughters who crossed the trackless plains, defied mountains and desert, and made the supreme conquest of nature, the like of which the earth no longer offers opportunity. Call it the miracle of human achievement, if you will, there is nothing in all human history to match this triumph of human courage and endurance.

It is good to recall their virtues, their customs, their ideas, because of these came the inheritance of present-day America. They held a simple faith and lived simple lives. They knew the essentials of achievement, and sought it through the wisdom of experience, though they blazed the way of many an experiment to hasten accomplishment. They didn't indulge many finely-spun theories, there were not many "isms" them. They faced stubborn facts, and dwelt in grim determination. They were

not asking what the Republic could do for them, they were seeking to do for themselves and thereby add to the glory of the Republic. They had initiative, courage, self-dependence, self-confidence, and they found incentive and inspiration in the things to be done. They had all of sympathy, all of naturalness, all of faith. They were deeply religious, helpfully religious, and builded altars of worship and houses for schools with the morrow in mind for generations to come, and knew little of government and less of law, but justice was a part of their daily lives. They wrought in hardship and denial, to treasure in pride. It need not be surprising that they held this America of ours at a little higher value than those who came later to find a land not finished but revealed, with opportunity calling where they had planted that same opportunity.

It is worth remembering that the pioneers—those stalwart makers of America—were little less varied in their origin than our people of today. Either they or their forebears came from lands across the sea. But they were thinking only of America. Theirs was more than sole allegiance to the land of adoption, they were interested and devoted heart and soul. They were in complete unison, with one purpose, one confidence, one pride. They probably had affectionate thought of kinsfolk across the seas, but time, distance and conditions made them a people apart. Literally they were in a new world, far away, with a new people's destiny to work out. When we marvel at the miracle, their unity is the explanation. When we wonder that they succeeded, their oneness of thought helps us to understand.

We have only to recall their situation to understand many of the policies and pronouncements of those days. They could have no conception of our present-day attainments. Hamilton, who conceived, and Washington, who sponsored, wise as they were, little dreamed of either a development or a solution like ours of today. But they were right in fundamentals. They knew what was safe, and preached security.

One may doubt if either of them—if any of the founders—would wish America to hold aloof from the world. But there has come to me lately a new realization of the menace to our America in European entanglements which emphasizes the prudence of Washington, though he could little have dreamed the thought which is in my mind.

When I sat on the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and listened to American delegations appealing in behalf of kinsmen or old home-folk across the seas, I caught the aspirations of nationality, and a perfectly natural sympathy among kindred in this Republic. But I little realized then how we might rend the concord of American citizenship in our seeking to solve old-world problems.

There have come to me, not at all unbecomingly, the expressed anxie-

ties of Americans foreign-born, who are asking our country's future attitude on territorial awards in the adjustment of peace. They are Americans all, but they have a proper and natural interest in the fortunes of kinsfolk and native land. One can not blame them. If our land is to settle the envies, rivalries, jealousies and hatreds of all civilization, these adopted sons of the Republic want the settlement favorable to the lands from which they came.

The misfortune is not alone that it rends the concord of nations, the greater pity is that it rends the concord of our citizenship at home. It is folly to think of blending Greek and Bulgarian, Italian and Slovak, or making any of them rejoicingly American when the land of adoption sits in judgment on the land from which he came.

Governor Coolidge spoke the other day of the rescue of America from the reactions of the war. We also need to be rescued from the visionary and fruitless pursuit of peace through super-government. I do not want Americans of foreign birth making their party alignments on what we mean to do for some nation in the old world. We want them to be Republicans because of what we mean to do for the United States of America. Our call is for unison, not rivalling sympathies. Our need is concord, not the antipathies of long inheritance.

Surely, no one stopped to think where the great world-experiment was leading, frankly, no one could know. We are only learning now. It would be a sorry day for this Republic if we allowed our activities in seeking for peace in the old world to blind us to the essentials of peace at home.

There is another thought relating to concord so essential to continued advancement. It was said the other day that the Democratic Party meant especially to appeal to the farmers and the wage-earners, and let America forget the failure of the world experiment. If America can be made to forget the attempted barter of nationality, well and good. It would be better if we could forget. But when nationality is surrendered to internationality, little else matters, and all appeal is vain. There is only one other menace so threatening our tranquility. That menace is the appeal to class in determining what our government is to be. I would hold myself unworthy of your confidence if I spoke an appeal to either farmers or wage-earners because of their larger numbers. We wish the confidence of all.

You said, Judge Taggart, this delegation comes from shop, store, factory, office and farm. We could not well get along without any of them. We must exchange as well as produce, and we must teach and preach in order to attain as well as acquire.

There isn't any governmental part in fixing pursuit, profession or employment. Perhaps I ought to modify that and say—except during war. Government did interfere for the war, and we want to end that interference. We want a free America again. We want America free at home, and free in the world. We want to silence the outcry of nation against nation, in the fullness of understanding, and we wish to silence the cry of class against class, and stifle the party appeal to class so that we may insure tranquility in our own freedom. If I could choose but one, I had rather have industrial and social peace at home than command the international peace of all the world.

In the study of the great world tragedy, some one has pointed out that the World War might have been avoided if united Germany had adopted that feature of our constitution which gives to Congress the right to declare war. Many advocates of pacifism think our safeguards are not enough, that there should be a referendum to the people before a war. The other extreme is found among those who seriously propose that a council of foreign powers shall summon the sons of this Republic to war anywhere in the world. I emphatically agree that no authority other than Congress may call our boys to battle. Accepting this truth, why make a covenant which violates the good faith of nations?

Suppose that under the military alliance and the super-authority of Article X, a program of armed force is agreed upon, and the Congress of the United States declines to respond. The executive would be called upon to carry on a war without constitutional authority, or we should prove our compact no more than a scrap of paper. We are on the side of both safety and honor to hold for ourselves the decision of our obligations to the world. We have ever played a becoming part in human progress, we will not fail to play it in that freedom of conscience and action which benefits a confident republic. Men prate about violated obligations to the nations of the earth. The solemn truth is that our part in the World War was an obligation to ourselves, performed in sympathy with associated, not allied, powers, and our splendid part in helping to win the war was the armed manifestation of American conscience, not the fulfillment of a written obligation.

Once more, Judge Taggart, I want to revert to your reference to your county as a community of homes. Such is the ideal community. The pioneers whom I was recalling, wrought their homes out of the wilderness. The possession of homes was their inspiration. In these modern days homes are wrought through industry and thrift. We have progressed to the modern standards, outside the great cities, where home-owning is the first step toward competence and wholesome contentment. The American system, with its equality of opportunity has opened the

way, and the American Constitution with its guaranty of civil liberty makes possession secure. A home-owning people might well be the great goal of the Republic, because at every fireside centers all of hope, all of ambition, all of education, all of aspiration. The big thing in our land is this offering of opportunity, and the Republican Party means to maintain a government and make secure conditions which will guarantee a fair chance to every citizen and bid him drink of our freedom and know its rewards.

It is impossible to definitely fix our course amid the unusual conditions in the wake of war. [The world has to steady down. We have been talking about getting back to normal. That doesn't mean the old order, that doesn't mean looking backward. It is the short and easy way of saying "Again to Stability," "Once More to Regularity." There hasn't been a backward look in America for three hundred years, but the man who faces the future with highest assurances is he who has noted the paths which made his progress secure.] We Republicans hold that the inherited plans of constitutional, representative popular government, with its inspirations of nationality and a fair chance for every man, have enabled us to write the supreme story of human and national advancement in all the world, and we mean to hold the inheritance secure and go confidently on to greater and grander achievement.

A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING TO REPUBLICAN PRESS, MARION, OHIO, AUGUST 13, 1920

Gentlemen of the Republican Press:—The passing years have wrought great changes in the newspaper business even in the comparatively short time since my adventurous entry upon it. The prolific inventors of printing machinery and other appliances have borne their share in it; the free rural delivery, the advance in education, bringing new multitudes of readers, have all had their influence in the developments and evolutions which have followed. I can remember when in most of the county-seat towns the possession by one of the papers of a power press—even if the power was applied by a husky man attached to a cranked wheel—was widely proclaimed as an evidence of astounding prosperity and recognized as a potential influence.

We who are gathered here have seen the type-setting machines come in—not to supplant the hand compositor, but to shift him to the "Ad. Alleys" and the job cases. They have taught the printers as the mowers

and reapers have taught the farmers that increased capacity in production does not mean a lessening of a demand for labor, but on the contrary increased production, through increased efficiency, mental, manual or mechanical, opens new avenues for employment and brings luxuries into the class of common commodities.

Weeklies Diminished

The diminished numbers of country weekly publications came in the extension of the rural delivery mail carriers. We learned that the farmer who got his mail every morning at his front door would not wait a week or even two or three days for his newspaper. He had learned, too, what market reports meant to him. Machinery had lightened his toil and shortened his hours, except seasonably, and he had time to read and the desire to be informed. The telephones had brought him in touch with some news centers and he heard hints which he wanted confirmed. Electricity lighted many farm houses and lengthened the reading period.

The rural delivery with the parcel post also wiped out many of the cross roads stores where the rural dweller was wont to gather for neighborly gossip and discussion of great events, and this, too, had its influence in broadening the demand for the daily paper.

Another change was brought about by two causes. In the days of thirty or forty years ago, there was a bitterness and acerbity about political discussion which caused the factional newspaper to multiply if not to flourish. It was not difficult to start a newspaper in those days. A very small amount of cash and a little credit would procure a modest plant, and another journal would be "established" to fight its owner's quarrels and divide the limited patronage of its limited field.

High Cost of Printing

But now it costs real money to equip a newspaper plant—to install linotype machines, fast presses and type in quantities, and it costs a "fortune" to buy news print. The "high cost of printing" has had its way with us and we find fewer but generally better newspapers than we had in the Ohio counties when our population was half what it is now.

The changes have been great, but I question whether they have all been in the nature of improvements. The old-time paper—going back to the last half of last century — was usually a real journal of opinion. It reflected the convictions as well as the opinions of its owner and editor, and it was a real moulder of opinion in its influence upon its readers and the community it served. The editors were not always great writers, but they were generally patriots, and honestly desirous to render service. And they were generally partisan and they preached party gospel and believed in it. Sometimes it seems to me that the transition from the party organ to the "independent" newspaper, so-called, has not been an

unmixed blessing. The partisan newspaper, in its editorial expression, uttered the considered views of a large element of our citizenship, while the "independent" paper is often the organ solely of its owner, or it is colorlessly neutral.

A Great Temptation

I am glad therefore that you came here today as partisans—Republican partisans—believing in the formulated policies of the Republican party and having faith in its purposes, honesty, capacity and courage.

There is a temptation today to blend shop talk with politics, because I know how intimately you are thinking of the problem of news print, the cost of which has added so excessively to the expense account of every newspaper. Men speak of immediate relief, but the problem is too big for that.

Permanent and ample relief must come by going to the underlying causes. No forest consumption like ours can go on indefinitely without imperiling our pulpwood supply. Competent authority tells us that the pulpwood in New York state will be exhausted in ten years, that New England will be denuded of its supply in twenty years. Our needs are so vast that we imported nearly one and a half million tons of pulpwood from Canada in 1918, and the Canadian price advanced from ten to twenty-five dollars per cord. It is obvious that we must have a forest policy which shall make us self-reliant once more. We ought to be looking ahead to produce our timber for our pulpwood needs and also our timber for our lumber needs. Forest conservation is a necessary accompaniment to printing expansion, and a matter of common concern to all the people.

Eighty Million Idle Acres

Three-fifths of the original timber in this country is gone, and there are eighty million idle acres in which we ought to be growing forests for the future. Planning for the future, with added protection of our present forests from fire is a matter of deep concern to publishers in particular, but all of constructive America as well.

But I want to turn your thoughts to a service in our columns. There is one service for the American press, not partisan but patriotic, for which there is a call today such as we have never known before. America needs a baptism in righteousness and a new consecration in morality.

It was stated the other day that a reflex of the war has been so revealed in broken obligations and betrayed trusts that the bonding companies are called upon to meet such losses that the whole schedule for fidelity policies must be rewritten. If my information is correct, the security companies have never been called upon to meet so many and such heavy losses in all the history of that business.

Betrayals of Trust

Probably the betrayals of trust, the smaller ones at least, are in part due to the high cost of living, and the failure of salary scales to respond to the new demands of the salaried working forces. Many instances are reported, however, where salaries were ample to meet even extravagant practices, and the sums stolen were beyond all limits which might attend living costs. The conclusion is forced that it is a reflex of the moral degeneracy of war, of the barbarity and cunning, and ruthlessness and greed in war's aftermath.

There was so much of extravagance, so much of waste, so much of needless expenditures in seeking for speed in war preparation, that the government often was robbed without scruple of conscience, often without hindrance. It is not surprising to find a reflex in offices and counting-rooms.

Old Standards of Honesty

Call it reaction if you like, we need the old standards of honesty, the lofty standards of fidelity. If I could call for but one distinction, I would like ours to be known as an honest people. We need the stamp of common, every-day honesty, everywhere. We need it in business, we need it in labor, we need it in professions, in pulpits, in editorial rooms, in circulation count. Aye, we need it in politics, in government, in our daily lives. Dishonesty and corruption had more to do with the Russian revolution than all the cruelty of autocracy.

If governments and their diplomats in Europe had been honest, there would have been no war. If everybody concerned had been rigidly honest, peace might have followed the armistice within ninety days. If we could only be genuinely honest with one another, we could put an end to industrial and social unrest, and if we were only honest with God, we would become a moral and religious people again.

To Clear Our Vision

I suppose some people will say I am "looking backward". But if we may look backward to clear our vision we may look forward more confidently, and lift our gaze above and beyond the sordid and selfish things and the baser side of life so horridly revealed when passions are aflame. There is sure progress for a simple-living, reverent people, fearing God, and loving righteousness. It is good to look back to make sure of the way religious mothers taught and then face the front with renewed faith.

If we are living in the past to recall the wisdom of Washington, the equal rights of Jefferson, the genius of Hamilton, the philosophy of Franklin, or the sturdiness of Jackson; if it is looking backward to recall the sympathy and steadfastness of Lincoln, the restoration of Mc-

Kinley or the awakening by Roosevelt, I am happy to drink of the past for my inspiration for the morrow.

Engineering is a scientific pursuit and a very accurate one. It has been my fortune to witness some railway surveys, and I never knew an engineer who did not turn his transit to his back-sight to make sure of his line by which we were to move on. We are thinking today of the route by which America is to go on. The past is secure, and I would like to project our future course on the security of the past.

Every Hope is of Tomorrow

Something has been said lately about looking to the sunrise of tomorrow, not the sky-line of the setting sun. Every hope in life is of tomorrow, we could not live yesterday again if we would. But the glory of ten thousand morrows was wrought in the wisdom gleaned on yesterday. Mariners and planters and harvesters—all study the sky. Sometimes above the sky-line, in lands where the desert stretches, there is the mirage, with its lure to the fevered and thirsting, with inviting promise of relief. It has speeded travel and revived hopes, and spurned waning strength, it has diverted from proven routes, and left death and destruction as its monument to broken promises. In the horizon of Republicanism and maintained constitutionalism, there is no mirage to lure the American caravan, but we mean to go securely on, over the proven routes of triumph for the republic and the people thereof.

No one agency can render a greater service in holding to the charted way than a conscientious and patriotic American press. But it must remain free, utterly free, along with freedom of speech, freedom of religious belief, and the freedom of righteous pursuit, it must be honest and it ever must be rejoicing in American nationality which is our priceless possession.

A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING TO DELEGATION OF LUMBERMEN, MARION, OHIO, AUGUST 18, 1920

Fellow Lumbermen: I think I may use that term without criticism because I once claimed membership in the fraternity which is peculiarly that of the lumber world. Though I have been somewhat connected with the business, I do not claim that intimacy which makes me acquainted with your many problems which call for highly intelligent solution.

Your relation to the public is a very important one. Your connection is with a basic industry in construction. We could make little practical progress without the lumber forces of the land in effective service in some form or other. Man fashions a very preponderant portion of his constructive work out of the lumber facilities of the land. It little matters that we are finding a goodly number of substitutes, because of the diminishing lumber supply. The timber of the country is still a first essential in a thousand enterprises and many of our most constructive endeavors.

War's First Great Excess

It is easy to recall how the nation turned to its lumber forces in the early anxieties of the war. You were called into service at the first command and the call upon the lumber industry was the first great excess in all our war activities. It is a matter of very great satisfaction that you responded so effectively as you did. I shall not speak of the infinite waste and the mounting cost incident to war activities, our present concern is that of peace. Ours is a nation of homes. The realization of our highest hopes lies in the continued construction and improved character of our homes, because they have the first influence in the standard of American living. Quite apart from furnishings and the almost limitless numbers of varied utilities, lumber is the first requirement of the prospective home-builder. The importance is emphasized by the reminder that America needs 4,000,000 additional homes today. Any people which can not dependably rely upon its lumber supply would face a very serious situation.

I am thinking particularly of that constructive work which means the continued building of homes for the housing of a people which must ever continue to elevate the American standard of living. Ours is already the highest in the world, but we must ever continue to lift the standard still higher.

Halting in Construction

At the present time there is a notable halting in the construction of homes because of the almost prohibitive cost. Lumber plays its very conspicuous part therein. Much of this, of course, relates to the increased cost of production which dates from the changed conditions since our entrance into the World War, but there is a permanent inclination to advance in cost because of the very manifest diminution of supply.

No one can be blind to the fact that during the tremendous growth of the republic, during the past half century, we have been drawing on our natural timber supply without a thought of the future. The American Forestry Association has given us figures to show that three-fifths of the original timber of the country has been consumed. It is of little value to recall the waste with which we have cut our timber, except that we ought to have learned lessons which will enable us to avoid so much of waste in the future.

I remember making a visit to the Hawaiian islands some five years ago and was greatly interested to find a very considerable lumber enterprise there, which was engaged in salvaging the stumpage of a certain hardwood which had been cut over years before. With a new realization of the diminishing supply this lumber enterprise was laboriously taking the stumpage from the ground and turning what was one time considered useless into a very valuable produce in lumber commerce. It was impossible, of course, to have practiced such a program of conservation in the early days of abundance when no one could readily contemplate the exhaustibility of our supply, but we have learned the lesson now and we have not only to conserve, but we ought to have a national policy of preservation and reforestation.

In Large Part Responsible

No one disputes that lumber prices are in large part responsible for the halting in the house-building movement. Lumber prices have increased very sharply since the war and prices in many instances have gone up three hundred per cent above those of pre-war period. When diminished forest supply and increased cost of production and increased cost of distribution are linked together it is not surprising that these unfortunate conditions are confronting us.

The one thing which the government may do is to adopt that policy which will assure to future generations the timber which is necessary to our lumber needs. In our section of the country the supply is almost entirely exhausted. The diminution in the soft-wood forests of New England, and lake states, and even the South, has been steady and continuous. Many watchful students of the situation think that another decade is going to put the South in a condition where it can do no more

than meet its own demands. There remains a large supply on the Pacific coast but the problem of transportation makes this supply unavailable to the East and Middle West, unless we contemplate a cost of transportation which will continue to discourage building enterprise.

Ample Lands for It

It is common knowledge that there is ample land in this country of ours, not adapted to other uses, to produce a sufficient supply of timber for all our needs, if it is only stocked with trees and nature is allowed to contribute toward our necessities. We must begin to think of timber crops as we do other cultivation in this land of ours, and we must put an end to that carelessness and neglect to which we trace our destructive forest fires. With timber growing on the one hand, and forest preservation and protection, on the other hand, there isn't any reason why the United States should not be self-reliant in the great essential of lumber for construction purposes. It is perfectly practicable and feasible to provide for a new growth of timber and an imperative duty to improve our forest protection. I can think of no forward look, in relation to the good fortunes of America, which does not contemplate a forest policy which will assure us the essential in the lumber line for all our constructive activities.

Substitution and supersedure will not alone relieve the threatening situation. As our civilization advances we shall build less wastefully and temporarily than characterize the construction of the developing period. This is the story of human progress. Permanent housing more dependably constructed, always follows the temporary efforts incident to development but no change of policy will ever eliminate our lumber needs.

I have sought to emphasize the thought of reforestration because I think it is highly essential for the United States of America to ever be thinking of self-reliance. We are so blessed with God's bounty, so varied in our productivity and so boundless in our resources that the combination of American genius and a committal to conservation and cultivation will leave us independent of the resources or the activities of the remainder of the world.

A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING TO DELEGATION OF INDIANS, MARION, OHIO, AUGUST 18, 1920

I only wanted to say, in reply, I am very glad to have you call in the capacity of a party candidate, because you, like all other citizenship of the Republic, are interested in party policies and party nominees, from whom must come those who are in authority in government. I am particularly interested to have you come here. I wonder if you know that you are now in the section of the last stamp—the last peaceful stamp—of the Indian in the great Middle West. The Greenville treaty line, which extended eastward from Greenville and then northward to the Lakes, gave the dozen tribes of Indians in Ohio and Indiana their fixed reservation and encouraged them to abide as peaceful participants until as late as 1843 and in that year the last of the Indians left this State of Ohio and it is rather an interesting thing to recall, in connection therewith, that when the Wyandots left here in 1843, there went with them William Walker, a half-breed Wyandot, who became the first territorial Governor of Nebraska, and I think it will be accepted, without contradiction, that this half-breed Wyandot was one of the most successful territorial Governors in all the United States.

I speak of it, as it is appropriate, as an indication of the Indian to care for his own government affairs, so far as consistent with popular government. I have heard something, as a member of the Senate, about the dissatisfaction of many of the Indian residents of this country but it has not been my good fortune to know of it in detail, because, as you know, all members of the Senate do not give their attention to all subjects of government, because it isn't within human capacity for one to know all these things.

I think you and I will agree about one basic principle and that is, that the American Indian is just as much entitled to a square deal as anyone else in the Republic and if we should be called to responsibility he will get it, and I would like to think, while we are talking about democracy and humanity and idealism, that this Republic had far better bestow it on the native American, whose lands the white man took, rather than waste American lives trying to make sure of that bestowal thousands of miles across the sea. I believe in the policy of promoting and bestowing and elevating and encouraging and establishing the ideals of democracy in America first and the American Indian is just as much entitled to that which righteously comes to him as any other citizen of the Republic.

You take that message to your fellow Americans from me and whether I am elected to the Presidency or not, I will still be a member of the Senate a little while and I will be happy to join with my voice in asking for justice to the American Indian.

I am glad to have you call. I wish I could take you about here and introduce you to the musical names in this section that all come from the Indian days. I was raised along the banks of the Old Olentangy. By the way, some one in the West has bestowed an Indian name on Mrs. Harding. I think they call her "Snowbird" with the suggestion that meant "hard worker." You tell the Indians in the West if they are bestowing names for busy workers, they should bestow one on me.

I shall be glad to see you in Washington, the seat of our government.

A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING TO OHIO GENERAL ASSEMBLY, MARION OHIO, AUGUST 19, 1920

Text of Harding's Speech

Members and Former Members of the Ohio General Assembly: It is a very gratifying thing to have your visit, and be able to greet you today. I take a particular pleasure in this, because of my previous association with the Ohio General Assembly.

Like many another public man, I began my public service as a member of the Ohio Legislature and came to my first knowledge, in that association, with the responsibilities and anxieties of a conscientious public service. I went to the General Assembly, as a member of the Upper House, some twenty years ago, with that state of mind which sometimes characterizes newspaper work and which has its development in an editorial writer promptly telling public servants what they ought to do.

My connection with the senate had not been long until I learned very thoroughly that it was one thing to sit at an editor's desk and proclaim, without immediate responsibility, what ought to be done, and a very different thing to assume that responsibility under one's oath of office.

Respect for Oath

It would be a very sorry thing for public men to forget the oath of office to which they subscribe in taking up their public responsibilities. Somehow there has been a tendency of late to ignore this solemn obligation. It is not easy for me to forget the oath which I assumed when I entered the federal Senate. It was the reminder of that oath that impelled me many a time in opposing the unreserved ratification of the league of

nations covenant which the President had negotiated. I could not accept the covenant as written and be faithful to that oath.

In popular government we have the fundamental law, known as the constitution, which is presumed to be altered only in great deliberations. It is a safeguard of popular government that legislators, both state and federal, take a solemn oath to support that constitution, and so long as the oath is faithfully kept we may be sure of the stability of our American institutions.

Another impression which I quickly gathered from my first experience in the Ohio senate was that the popular impression concerning the lack of integrity in public office was very often erroneous.

Perhaps there were men in the Ohio general assembly at the time of my six years of service, either as a member of the senate or its presiding officer, who sometimes, in a small or indirect way, betrayed the trust of the public, but such unhappy incidents were very rare exceptions, and it was my observation that ninety-nine men out of a hundred were abidingly faithful to their obligations and served the people of the state with the very highest conscience.

Progressive Record

The best proof of the good intention and fidelity of service in the general assembly lies in the splendid progressive record of our wonderful state. The first general assembly of Ohio met at Chillicothe, March 4, 1803. Governor Tiffin, in his message to that assembly, proclaimed our constitutional form of government, more or less modeled after the federal system, as "The world's best hope."

The growth and development of Ohio, our manifest part in the progress of the Republic, our ever-forward attainments all bespeak the service of fidelity and capacity of the general assemblies which have marked the history of the Buckeye State for nearly one hundred years.

There have been scandals now and then, but none of sufficient importance to in any way challenge the correctness of the form of government or the worthy way in which we have carried out the dictates of the constitution.

A Training Ground

For a vast majority of our public men, the general assembly has been the training ground for public service. If I should find any fault with our practices, it lies in the fact that we are too frequently changing the personnel. No one can accuse me of having any selfish ends to serve when I say to you that we ought to retain a considerable portion of the membership of the general assembly for long years of public service, provided capable men are found willing to make the sacrifice, because of the ever-widening relationship of legislation and state government to our modern

affairs, and the problem of knowing even state governments with that intimacy which facilitates intelligent action.

I well remember that my first session in the Ohio senate barely made me acquainted with the duties and practices and I am sure I rendered a very much more helpful service during my second term with that body.

It is just as important, of course, ever to be introducing young men and new blood, but our bi-annual sessions are so far apart, and the length of session is so relatively short that it is not a very easy matter for even that membership which continues in the service to keep in intimate touch with dependable public sentiment and sympathetically know the wishes of the people of the state.

Jealous of Its Powers

Probably in no state in all the Union has the general assembly been more jealous of its powers than has our own Ohio legislature. It has well preserved its independence as a co-ordinate branch of the government. During nearly a hundred years of the life of the state the chief executive had no veto power over the action of the general assembly, and in the belated amendment of the constitution, providing that veto power, it was given with such restrictions that the general assembly is little, if any, less an independent agency of representative popular government.

Not a few of the most progressive and effective reforms brought about in the state of Ohio had their origin in the general assembly, quite without recommendation or influence on the part of the executive, and all our boasted progression has come from the hands of the general assembly, because it could be accomplished in no other way.

Credit Due Assembly

Much is said from time to time concerning the progressive policies of the State of Ohio, and very frequently credit has been unduly claimed by the executive who happened to be in power at the time the reforms were registered. As a mere matter of justice, the fact ought to be stated that most of these reforms have come through the leadership of house and senate, and in many instances, they have been wrought though the party in power was of opposite political persuasion from that of the executive, who has claimed for himself the greater part of the credit.

It is easy to recall that the first step in Ohio relating to the regulation of public utilities came from the legislature in 1906, and the initial step toward workmen's compensation, and the established right of employees to protection in their employment, came from the general assembly of 1909. There have been enlargements and perfections of these efforts of several years ago, but all that our modern statute books contain on this subject must be given largely to the credit of the Ohio general assembly.

Signal Reforms Accomplished

I can well remember some of the signal reforms in state government which were accomplished by Republican general assemblies under the inspiration of Republican executives. Twenty-four years ago, under the administration of Governor Bushnell, we straightened out the frightful financial situation into which the state had been plunged—an almost invariable result of Democratic administration—put an end to the anticipation of tax collections and began the era of stable financing for our great commonwealth. A little later we began the drive to wipe out the indebtedness of the state, and when Governor Nash came into office twenty years ago we began and actually effected the elimination of the state tax levy.

Governor Herrick followed after, and a Republican general assembly gave to the state during his administration several notable reforms and registered new triumphs in rational progress. Under that administration came the state depository law, the state banking department and the state highway commission. These branches of our government have become very effective agencies in our more modern life, and mark the responsiveness of Republican general assemblies to the needs of a growing and forward-looking state.

Later on, during the administration of Governor Willis, a Republican general assembly codified and simplified the highway department and gave us most signal advancement in the construction of improved highways.

Workmen's Compensation Law

Still more recently a Republican general assembly, with an executive quite without sympathy with its general program, perfected the workmen's compensation act, and has given to the workmen of the state probably the most nearly ideal law of any state in the Union. I do not at the moment recall which Republican assembly wrote our advanced statutes protecting child labor in Ohio, but we were the model state in the Union before the new freedom or any Democratic apostle of shouting progression came to any considerable notice.

I am not attempting to recite a record of legislative accomplishment. I have only made some of these allusions which I recall from memory instead of any record at hand, to point out in a very general way the high character of the work which the Ohio assembly has ever wrought in the interest of all the people of this great state.

Value of Divided Responsibility

You and I, jointly, have been witnesses to the advantages and security in the divided responsibility which comes of two legislative branches. There have been propositions at times, in the name of reform, to abolish

the upper house, but no one will sanction such a proposal if he stops to measure the safeguards which lie in the necessary agreement between these two legislative bodies. Even when one party has been in unquestioned control of both houses, the deliberate judgment of the one or the unalterable purpose of the other has led either to helpful accomplishment on the one hand or a saving prudence on the other.

Surprised at Ignorance

Some of us have been witnesses to the work of the federal Senate during the past five years, and I confess amazement at the ignorance of some who cry out against the senate, or the contempt of others for the senate's very proper and constitutional part in federal government. In our own state it has been the practice, though not without exception, to send our most eminent men to the United States Senate. In easy memory, there were Sherman, and Garfield, and Thurman, and Pendleton, and Hanna and Foraker. I do not venture to make mention of living ex-members from our own state, though I might befittingly utter some very high appraisals. I do know we mean to send a big and trusted son of Ohio when we elect Frank B. Willis, next November.

It is well known that New York has sent her giants to the senate, and Massachusetts gave to the service of the nation her ablest sons. Maine, all New England, sent their illustrious statesmen, or they grew illustrious in the service, and, our Middle West, and the boundless West and North and South—all sent to the Senate the foremost men they boasted.

Not Disparaging House

I am not disparaging the House of Congress. Indeed, I could entertain no such thought. Many of the brilliant contributors to American state-craft have left the impress of their exceptional statesmanship on the activities of the House of Congress. There has ever been genius and statesmanship and high ability and lofty purpose in the membership of that body; but with rare exceptions, like that of Reed and Cannon, and McKinley and Giddings, the House was ever the training school for eminent activities in the Senate. Scores of conspicuous figures in the Senate today had their beginning in the Lower House. Lodge and Brandegee, Curtis and Lenroot, Nelson and Townsend, McCormick and Watson, Williams and Underwood, are notable examples. All of them began in the House. These and others constitute some of the foremost figures in American public life.

In the Senate are ninety-six men, elected by the people from forty-eight states, and the safeguards in the Senate in the exercise of its constitutional authority are security of the American Republic.

Saved American Nationality

I do not hesitate to say that the Senate saved American nationality

in 1919 and 1920, when the executive proposed to surrender it. The Senate preserved our independence of action when the executive insisted that a foreign council should decide our future place in the activities of the world, and call us to war and our destiny.

It has become quite the fashion among unheeding partisans of Democratic faith to cry out against the Senate and the part it plays in the federal government. One might as well proclaim the constitution a fraud. The Senate is in reality the security of stable, popular government. Many measures must of necessity originate in the House of Congress. Its members come fresh from the people every two years. Sometimes the measures proposed are the ready reflex of the popular sentiment of the hour.

Then they go to fuller debate and thorough discussion in the Senate. Some men, without experience, cry out against that excess of debate. There is not a more helpful thing in all our popular government. When I first went to the Senate, I grew impatient at the length of debate myself. It is granted that much is said in the Upper House that is not exceedingly important and not always timely. But it is very evident to one who has watched the activities of the Senate as a participant that every unworthy measure is sure to be lost in the freedom of Senate debate and any worthy measure is certain to come to final consideration in ample season, and is sure to be perfected in the fullness of discussion.

An Amusing Incident

I remember a very amusing incident which happened in the Senate debates relating to the adoption of a modified cloture rule. It ought to be said, in passing, that the proposition for cloture came from an executive who looked upon the proceedings of the Senate with more or less contempt. In the progress of the debate, a very eminent senator, who argued very earnestly that an hour was ample time for the intelligent and ample discussion of any pending question, required an hour and a half of his time to utter all that he had to say on that particular subject.

The practices of the Senate are not so ancient or so firmly fixed that they do not yield to reform, and the Senate is not insensible to intelligent public opinion nor unheeding of a righteous public demand. Whenever the question is urgent, the Senate responds to a public call with a swiftness little less than a prompt individual decision. It has never failed the country in an hour of great importance, but it has saved to the country the inheritance for which heroes perished and for which the supreme sacrifices of the Republic were made.

A Senate Filibuster

I can recall one excessive debate in the Senate, probably correctly called a filibuster, which took place at the closing period of Congress in 1919. The appropriation bills were kept from passage by the debate of

the Senate. Frankly I did not approve at the time, but the failure of these appropriation bills to pass led to a resubmission of them at the special session of Congress, which was called soon thereafter, and my recollection is that the new Republican Senate was able to reduce these appropriations almost a billion dollars. Here is one instance, at least, where debate was a money-saving operation to the people of the United States of America. Literally, it was only a delay of action under Democratic control until the bills could be considered under a Republican understanding of the needs of the country. We need more of that same reduction of expenditures in the years which are immediately before us. And we mean to have it.

Needed to Save America

In cartoon, in solemn editorial, in many utterances on the platform, it has been suggested that in case of a Republican victory the incoming President proposes to permit the Senate to have some say in determining the policy of government. I gladly proclaim all these suggestions to be literally correct. I rejoice that the United States Senate is functioning again. We need it to save America. It submerged itself for the period of the war and surrendered to the executive because we wanted to marshal all of our forces and resources under one supreme authority, but we are at peace today, actual peace, though not formally proclaimed, and we need the restorations of constitutional government quite as much as we need the restoration of the stable ways of peace. If a Republican administration is chosen next November, you can be very certain that the Senate, theoretically, if not actually, composed of ninety-six leading men of the Republic, will have something to say about the foreign relations as the constitution contemplates.

Exceptional Wisdom

There was exceptional wisdom in the fathers providing that the Senate must sanction by a two-thirds vote every foreign covenant. The early patriots were not content that a mere majority control, which might be wholly partisan, should give to the executive the right to enter into treaties with foreign nations. A mere majority might surrender to the personality or to the partisan aims of an executive who happened to be in political accord, but there could be no possibility of a hasty decision when two-thirds of the Senate must give its consent. The league covenant was written and negotiated in the mistaken belief that a majority could not even amend.

In the two-thirds vote to ratify was the supreme wisdom of the founders, because in all the previous history of the world the conflicts between nations usually had their beginning in the ambition of the ruling head of government.

Still, another safeguard was provided in making it necessary for all appropriations to originate in the Lower House of Congress. The Senate and the Executive may make a covenant with a foreign nation, and many a compact of that sort involves financial expenditure. Thus the fulfilment is finally dependent upon the willingness of the House to agree to the necessary appropriation. I do not know that there is an instance in our history where the House has declined to appropriate money to make good a contract between our own and any foreign government, but, literally and constitutionally, the House has the power to defeat the fulfilment of any compact which involves any expenditure. There has been no failure on the part of the House, because that body joins the Senate in the abiding policy of committing this Republic to fidelity of contract. If we failed to keep any covenant we should be held in contempt throughout the world.

May Well be Applied

This thought may well be applied to the proposal that this Republic can subscribe to Article 10 and enter into the League of Nations and submit to the rule of a council of foreign powers, on the theory that only congress can make the declaration of war. It is true that only Congress can make the declaration, just as it is true that only Congress can make an appropriation of money to carry out a covenant with a foreign power, but if this nation agrees to accept the decision of a foreign council, then we should be guilty of a bad faith, utterly unbecoming of this republic, if Congress did not keep the compact and provide for the welfare which the foreign council has ordered. I would think it much better to hold aloof from international relationship than stamp that relationship with perfidy from the very beginning. If the obligation is one of contract we will keep it, if it is a moral obligation, we must keep it.

For Constitutional Government

However, I did not mean to deal with this problem in such remarks as I have thought becoming to this occasion.

I do want America to understand that a Republican administration stands unalterably, avowedly and proudly for constitutional government with the recognized and sustained powers of the legislative and judicial branches of the government, as well as that of the executive.

I want members of the House to feel themselves a part of a Republican administration, seeking to serve the interests of all the people of our common country. I want members of the Senate to understand, and the public to know, that the Senate has its functions to perform in making good the plight of faith in the Republican platform, and the fulfillment of promises to the American people. I had rather have the counsel of the Senate than all the political bosses in any party, in America. Under the

constitution, the Senate must advise and consent to all important appointments made by the Executive. I do not think we have lived up to the constitution in this matter in recent years.

The tendency has been for the Executive to arrogate to himself all the powers of government. Maybe it is old-fashioned to get back to the constitution, but I can well believe it will be a wholesome change from the conditions we are experiencing at the present time.

Party Sponsorship

I have said something heretofore about party sponsorship in government. I do not think any intelligent person can have misconstrued my meaning. When I speak of party sponsorship, I mean that sponsorship which belongs to a political party for the determination of policies and the fixing of program for the highest service to the American people. I want to have done with personal government in this country. I want to put an end to autocracy, which has been reared in the name of democracy. I want a government of laws rather than of men.

I want representative popular government in fact, not merely in name. I want an end to dictation in America and the resumption of the rule of dependable public opinion, uttered through the representatives of the people chosen for that explicit purpose. There has been a fevered tendency of humanity in recent years to completely alter everything which has gone before. We have that new cult in American politics which proclaims everything that is, is bad, and suggests that everything that is to be, will be divine.

Paris or Mob Mentality

We had a period of popular resentment of the existence of our courts, and for a time there was the suggestion that we should submit their decisions to popular sanction, else they should not abide. There isn't very much choice between venomous assault on the integrity of the courts and the momentary clamor about eliminating the Senate from the responsibility in federal government.

I do not know whether the idea is one imported from the peace council at Paris, or whether it is a reflex of the mob mentality which has broken out in revolution in various places in Europe. Our business is to hold America stable. Our task is to preserve popular, representative, constitutional government in America. The particular task of the Republican party is to appeal to the confidence of the people of this Republic and to assure them that if we are returned to power we mean to restore the exercise of the fullness of rights to the various branches of the government, and not make America the pawn of an individual or the plaything of a party, or the plunder of the profiteers, who were developed under the rule of that party which now inveighs most loudly against them.

Not Much of a Task

It is not very difficult to construe the aspirations and ambitions of America. It is not very hard to know what is in the thoughts of the great mass of Americans who constitute the resistless undercurrent of forward American life. Americans want the preservations of their liberties. They want the assurance of tranquility and security. They want to dwell in peace at home and know only friendly relations with all our neighbors throughout the world. They want a fair chance for every man and woman in this republic, and they want that fair chance amid conditions which promise that men may achieve and be rewarded as they merit it. No one worth while in America wants the adoption of anything approximating the rule of ruin in Russia, or the impractical things of the well-meaning dreamer at home.

They want our progress so influenced, not hindered, by government, that the good fortunes attending our human activities may be reasonably fairly distributed, and they want to feel that the various employments in American life shall be righteously rewarded.

True Government

There can be no permanent good fortune if the rewards of toil are bestowed upon particular groups. There can be no assurance of stability if one great group in American life preys upon another. Our thought is to work out such just laws and see to their proper enforcement that government will not be influenced by any element in American life made influential through its physical might, or strength of possessions, but that representative government shall ever be righteous and just and give of its concern to the good fortunes of all the American people.

We have wrought the miracle of American development and the wonder of American progress through this inherited government of ours, which seems to surpass any other creation of men since the world began. Since the record of human progress and the story of American accomplishment give proof that ours is the best government under the sun, I rejoice that the Republican Party means to preserve it and hold fast to its separate branches, and pledges the American people their co-ordinated functioning for the highest good to the millions of this Republic.

A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING
TO DELEGATION OF HARDIN COUNTY,
OHIO, SOLDIERS OF '61-'65, MARION, OHIO
AUGUST, 19, 1920

You have paid me a very exceptional compliment, and it is a joy for me to come over here to greet you. I don't think it has fallen to the lot of any man in the capacity of a candidate to have a greater tribute paid to him than the call of such a body of veterans of the Civil War. When I stop to think of the long period that has passed since you went to the front in 1861 it brings to me a new realization of what you did, first in your service to country in preserving nationality and second in laying down your arms and returning to citizenship, giving to the country the leaven of patriotism.

From my earliest recollections I have a distinct remembrance of Civil War soldiers in their activities of citizenship and their marked influence in political progress. If the millions of sons who went forth in the defense of our national rights in the World War can turn to a new birth of patriotism as you did, that will compensate us for all our part in the great world struggle. The man who goes forth to offer all on the altars of country returns a better patriot. We need a new birth of patriotism in our country.

You didn't enter the war to free the slave, although that was a becoming ideal. You didn't go to war because you hated any group in the South or to establish any new conception of justice. But you entered the conflict because you found the Union was threatened; you went to save the Union and nationality.

There have been a variety of opinions as to why your grandsons went to war. Your sons went to war with Spain for humanity. Some have said that your grandsons went to war for democracy and some that they went forth to insure that there would be no wars in the future. If we went to war for democracy, shouldn't we have gone in when it first started? And if we went to war to insure that there would be no more wars, shouldn't we have gone in before so many millions had been sacrificed?

The simple truth is that your grandsons went to war when Congress made the declaration because our nationality and rights had been threatened. Then it was possible to call the sons of America to battle.

That doesn't mean that when the war is over we should surrender what we went in to maintain. If I am elected president of the United States and it is within my power, there will never be a surrender of that which you have handed down to the generation of today.

A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING
TO HARDING-COOLIDGE THEATRICAL
LEAGUE, MARION OHIO, AUGUST
24, 1920

Ladies and Gentlemen:—I am conscious that I am greeting a group which is representative of a very much more important element in our American life than is generally recognized. Whether one contemplates the present-day stage in deference to its part in art or its vast opportunities for educational work or its commercial importance, it is really a very significant factor in the activities, progress and attainment of our common country.

I presume many of you had rather be estimated from the purely professional side as devotees of a very great and appealing art. It is very easy, on the other hand, for the practical mind to be impressed by the fact that the United States of America expends approximately one billion dollars per year for its amusement on the stage. Perhaps nothing more significantly reflects the changed condition of living or the ability of our people to indulge in those things which are counted a necessary part of the fuller modern life.

There is another phase, however, which is even more appealing to me. I do not in any way minimize my high regard for the great art involved in the splendid work of the spoken drama or the musical stage, but the coming of the silent drama has revealed to us an agency for education which no human being could have reasonably conceived a quarter of a century ago. We have no single avenue for the dissemination of information equal to that of the moving picture. I do not know that anyone now has an approximate measure of the possibilities which may come. Pictures are very convincing things. I confess that sometimes the camera fools us more or less, but, as a general proposition, it is a very dependable agency of the truth, and it has the facility for conveying essential educational truths to the remotest parts of the world.

Nothing is more remarkable than the enlarged enjoyment of the drama through picture distribution. It is only a few years ago that the rural community saw very little of the drama and much of what it saw was not to be taken as a very creditable example of the best in dramatic art. Most of you have a very strong aversion to what is properly known as barnstorming, and really worth-while stage entertainment was a very rare thing in the rural communities. Many of us had examples of home production in which we yielded to a very natural inclination to act some

part. This manifestation is one which we developed rather unconsciously from the earliest days in the public schools. The recitation or declamation, so frequently employed by schooling youths and encouraged in every home, is only one of the early tendencies of the dramatic art.

I will not venture to recall my recollections of the amateur stage and the home production, or any part I had therein, but I do recall that out of the atmosphere of the small town stage has come many a star to illumine the theatrical world. It has seemed to me that there are two elemental essentials to the inauguration of a dramatic career, one is native talent and the other is opportunity for its development. With these, of course, must be ambition and determination, because there is no eminence attained in human life without these. It is befitting to recall that no actor or actress ever wrought an abiding triumph on any stage without knowing the soul of the character enacted, and we Americans, to enact our part in the drama of world civilization, must know the soul of America, and play the part of real Americans.

If it will not seem out of place, I want to convey one message to your associates in the various activities of the stage world. I think we have been making noble progress in the attainment of high quality and the elevation of standards. I would like the American stage to be like American citizenship, the best in all the world. I think the inspiration for success lies in ever lifting the standards higher and higher. It is extremely necessary to continue to elevate the standards of the silent drama, because we send the picture stage to all the people of the United States and it is of common concern that its influence must be the very best. I do not think a people can be fortunate with various standards of censorship. I presume censorship is very essential, but I do not think we require one standard for one locality and another standard for another. We must ever be on guard against debasement for momentary gain, on the one hand, and against narrow exaction which destroys the artistic merit of a production and the real lesson intended, on the other. However, there is nothing so essential to the highest art that it need be offensive to becoming public morals.

Without venturing to quote the very familiar reference to all the world as a stage, I have been thinking lately that there is a great likeness between political life under popular government and many of our most successful productions on the stage. Some of the most impressive plays I have ever witnessed have been those where all the interest is not riveted in the lead. For example, in the production of Julius Caesar, which attracted the attention of much of the foremost talent of the stage one great actor would choose to portray the character of Cassius, another may have elected to play the part of Brutus, still another thought

to assume the role of Caesar himself. The work of the lead was not transcendent, but the effectiveness of the play was dependent on the perfection with which every character was presented. To my mind it is the ideal spoken production where each one plays his part with soul and enthusiasm, no matter how insignificant the part may be, so that out of the grouped endeavor comes the perfect offering.

There is an element in every production quite as essential in the modern production as the acting caste, which must work with spirit and devotion and which the public never sees. I refer to the forces behind the scenes, who dress the picture for either spoken or silent drama. I do not assume to mention all elements essential to the modern stage, but I do want to remind the public that on the stage, as in life, are ever the faithful and the tireless without whom we could not accomplish, but who themselves rarely appear on the stage. Their applause must come in the soul of their work and the consciousness of things well done.

There are many plays especially written for notable stars and their presentation has depended on the work of one portraying genius. There is, of course, a fascination in the one-lead drama, but it makes the spectator very much dependent upon one individuality, and if the star should be incapacitated for any reason, there is inevitable disappointment. I think it is a very practical thing to suggest that our American popular government ought not to be a one-lead or a one-star drama of modern civilization. I want to commend the policy of each and every one having his part to play, and we all must play with enthusiasm in order to perfect the whole production. We have been drifting lately under one-lead activities and I am sure the American people are going to welcome a change of the bill. For the supreme offering, we need the all-star cast, presenting America to all the world.

Running over in my mind some of my recollections of the stage, I recall two plays—the production of which left an impress that I shall never forget, especially in their bearing on the present state of human affairs. In one, Forbes Robertson played the leading role—"The Passing of the Third Floor Back." The Stranger in the play urged upon a discordant, suspicious boarding-house family, the gospel of simplicity and honesty and understanding. With a rare sympathy and great patience, and with wholesome good sense and a fine example in himself, he transformed the household and planted happiness where discord had flourished, and rended hypocrisy, and put an end to cheating, and drove snobbery out, and set the flowers of fellowship abloom. We need the lesson this Stranger taught, in our American lives and throughout the world. His was no radical teaching, his was not a highly dramatic or sensational example, there really was not a very striking punch in a thing

that he said, but the Stranger was soothing and helpful and encouraging and uplifting, and he left sunshine where the shadows of gloom had darkened, and he did it all through sympathy and understanding. He uncovered reality and put pretense aside.

The other play was one of Mansfield's superb productions—"Charles V," if my memory is correct. I particularly recall a camp scene on the night before a crucial battle, and as I recall it now, the King put aside his regal garb, and clad as a simple soldier went among his armed forces to learn their feelings, their confidence, and their fears, and ascertained on terms of equality and intimacy, what a monarch might never have learned in any other way. And he found that the heart of his army was right. He asked concerning the morrow and he found the confidence of the rank and file to be the assurance of a King, and together they fought in triumph the next day.

There is no kingship in this Republic, but thoughtful Americans are wondering about the morrow. Is our civilization secure? It is well to know what is in the hearts of men and women, who are gathered before the camp-fires of human progress. There is a memory of yesterday, the horizon of today, and the new hope of tomorrow. Every normal human being wishes for a better morrow than today. Every parent in America wishes for his son or daughter all that he inherited, and more. That is why humanity is ever an advancing procession.

But no sane man ever puts aside an assurance of experience for the promise of more experiment. The world can not be stabilized on dreams, but can be steadied by evident truths. It is perfectly normal humanity which delights in a new sensation. One can only pity a people which becomes blase. It is better to be simple than surfeited. The new thrill is sought on the stage and is sought everywhere in human life. Some of our people lately have been wishing to become "citizens of the world." Not so long since I met a fine elderly daughter of Virginia, who would have been justified in boasting her origin in the Old Dominion and uttering her American pride, but I was shocked to hear her say, "I am no longer an American, I am a citizen of the world." Frankly, I am not so universal, I rejoice to be an American and love the name, the land, the people and the flag.

A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING TO DELEGATION FROM WYANDOTTE CO., OHIO, MARION, OHIO, AUGUST 25, 1920

Mr. Carey and Wyandot County Friends:—Of the many greetings which I have received at this place none has brought me more genuine pleasure than yours. You are my near neighbors, and many of you are personally known to me. In the course of a long residence here in Marion I have had close associations with Wyandot County and its people, so that I regard your call on me today in the light of friendship and neighborliness more than political. The words of your chairman suggest this feeling when he says that this delegation is composed of Republicans and Democrats.

It is significant that the women are here as a part of your numbers. It is likewise becoming. Clothed as they soon are to be with the right of suffrage, it is a fine example of their appreciation of the responsibility of this added duty of citizenship that they observe this first opportunity to show their interest and concern in matters political. Whatever differences there may have been over the granting of the right of suffrage to the women, there can be no question as to their fitness, their capacity, their patriotism and their earnestness. Whenever the American women determine upon a course they have universally made a complete success. They will regard their obligation with seriousness and always with a concern for their country's welfare.

No Assurance Needed

I needed not your assurance, Mr. Carey, that the good people of Wyandot County, as represented here, love their country, or that they cherish the great principles of Americanism which they are ready to defend. The history of Wyandot county which depicts the bitter struggles and the heroic sacrifices of the founders of your county is the fullest guarantee of their sturdy patriotism. Love of country and devotion to the highest principles of liberty are in the necessary heritage of the descendants of a sturdy and courageous people. While all of our country has had a somewhat similar history in the conversion of the forest and the glades from wilderness to civilization, your county is somewhat distinguished apart from many by the tragedies which marked the struggle for supremacy, culminating in the awful fate of my distant kinsman, Colonel Crawford, at the stake.

Beget Love of Country

Happily, those days are long gone by and peaceful and fruitful fields now smile in promise of the abundant harvests to come. The beautiful land that once knew rapine is the abode of a people whose civilization

is of the highest order. Such a history, I repeat, and such surroundings must of necessity beget a people imbued with love of country and a strong devotion to its institutions.

Charles Dickens, who has delighted millions dead, living and to be would not recognize in your charming county seat the Indian village which he visited in 1842, nor the "ghostly room, with a quantity of withered branches on the hearth, and two doors without any fastenings, opposite to each other, both opening on the black night and wild country and so contrived that one of them always blew the other open," where he and his good wife spent the night.

By passing from the thoughts of those far-off days, we must come to a consideration of the present-day problems, the interest in which has fixed your attention and brought you here today.

We Have Peace—Europe War

Our country is suffering today in common with much of the world as a result of the great war. We have this difference to distinguish us from Europe: We have actual peace, though not formally declared, while much of Europe is engaged in war, directly or indirectly. The European states have made their covenant, but war continues. We have entered into no covenant, and we have actual peace, but we have also the aftermath of the war in high cost of living, in disturbed social conditions, and in uncertainty in our industrial and financial affairs.

No Provision Made

This condition arises largely from the fact that the administration made no provision for a return to a peace basis. The government at Washington is still functioning very largely under special wartime legislation. Those laws, the enactment of which we are not disposed to question because they were the generous act of Congress in obedience to a call of patriotism, are not now necessary. In fact, their continuance upon the statute books and especially their administration as in time of national peril, are a hindrance and a source of positive mischief to the country. Not only is the effect mischievous, but their organized machinery is a source of great and unnecessary expense to the people of this country. We are already burdened to the breaking point with public dues exacted for all manner of purposes. The annual interest for all charges on our public debt is about equal to our normal revenue in the pre-war days. The unnecessary expenditure due to big organizations under these war-time agencies is not only an expense for which there is no equivalent, but a grievous burden upon a people who are struggling to meet other obligations imposed upon them from every direction.

To Reduce Living Cost

We need to reduce our cost of government as one means toward

reducing the cost of living. But that is not the only remedy. It may be difficult to indicate any particular remedy to achieve this much desired result, but certainly anything that exacts an unusual money demand for government is calculated to raise the cost of the necessities of life. A costly government is a tax upon the income, earnings or business of the individual. What we need is to have the government stop its extravagance as an example to individual thrift. Just now we need to practice economy in all things. This may sound like mockery to the man or woman whose all is consumed in the struggle for existence, but its application is to those who are expending unnecessarily, for their waste is the cause of want to those who have not enough.

Back to Millions

Realizing this fact the Republican Congress during a year of its existence cut the government expenditures two and a quarter billion dollars from the departmental estimates of the budget prepared by the Democratic administration. When the Republican Congress elected in 1918 came into control of the legislative branch of the government, it did so under a pledge to reduce the cost of government and to stop extravagance and waste. That pledge has been splendidly kept, and this, too, in the face of determined and persistent efforts by the party in power in the administrative branch of government to maintain its saturnalia of extravagance. As a part of the scheme to bring the Republican Party into disrepute, the Democrats of the Sixty-Fifth Congress had made considerable reductions below the estimate in the preparation of the eight supply bills which that Congress had advanced to various stages of legislative procedure but which they had failed to enact. Notwithstanding this fact, the Republicans of the Sixty-Fifth Congress, as a result of its careful scrutiny, actually passed the eight supply bills below the amount they had carried, as prepared and presented by the former Democratic Congress. This saving aggregated nearly a billion dollars. Mark you, I said a billion. I want to acclaim the day when we may think in millions once more.

To Relieve Drain

In addition to this record of saving, the Republican Sixty-Sixth Congress passed no new public building bills, nor has there been any sort of "pork barrel" legislation. The members were brave enough, unselfish enough and patriotic enough to forego any improvements, but chose to conserve the public revenue that the drain upon our people might be relieved. According to the statement of the Democratic Secretary of the Treasury, had it not been for these vast savings made from the estimates, the government would be facing a deficit of over, \$1,400,000,000 instead of a surplus of \$1,100,000,000 for the coming fiscal year.

The thanks of the nation are due to the resolute action of the Republican Congress in the saving of a billion dollars, so that the fiscal year, ended on June 30 last, found us without any increase of debt, floating or bonded; in fact, with a small decrease.

Estimates on War Basis

Notwithstanding we were assured under the League of Nations that we were to be spared from war, the administrations' estimates for national defense, including army and navy fortifications, totaled \$1,748,358,604.-80. The sum was cut in two, despite the unyielding attitude of the Secretaries of War and Navy. It is felt that an adequate army and navy may be maintained for much less than these appropriations. We believe in an adequate navy and for an army of reasonable proportions, but we shall insist that these establishments shall be economically administered. If the administration had been as solicitous in preparing for the inevitable conflict in the first years of the war; if it had exercised even ordinary precaution in those trying days, we would have been spared a large part of the efforts to prepare for the conflict after the declaration of war in April, 1917. No explanation ever may be made to excuse our lack of prudent preparation for our inevitable part in the World War, because the administration knew we could not escape involvement. That neglect was pre-meditated, and the American people who are now forced to meet the overwhelming costs of that neglect have a just reason to hold the administration to account for the resultant cost which staggers imagination and imposes burdens that must extend to generations yet to come.

Confidence Justified

The Republican Party has justified the confidence the country reposed in it when, in October, 1918, the President made his most partisan appeal for a Democratic Congress to do his bidding. It was the shocking partisanship of a century. The patriotic people of the nation remembered that, though in the minority in the Sixty-Fifth Congress, the Republicans generously supported every request of the President for power and authority. They remembered that it was Representative Kahn, a Republican, and a minority member of the committee on military affairs, who carried through the bill for the enlargement of our army and navy when war had been declared and when the Democratic speaker and the Democratic chairman of the committee on military affairs refused to sponsor that measure.

The Republican Party never has been found recreant in its patriotic duty, and no clearer or more positive proof of its earnestness, its disinterestedness and its patriotic devotion could be given than during the days of its minority in the Sixty-Fifth Congress. As the party

kept faith then, and as it has justified that vote of confidence in 1918, so it will continue to do in the days to come, when it will lead this government once more to its constitutional ways and restore the country to a condition of tranquility and security.

Nation Must Set Example

Statistics are usually dry and uninteresting, and often bewildering, and I shall not try your patience with tables or a great array of figures running into incomprehensible billions. In these days, however, it is timely and necessary to consider this matter of costs, whether of individual or government, and a billion dollars saved in one year to the nation is well worth thinking about, considering that our expenditures for several years have been mounting upwards at an appalling rate. Nations, like individuals, must live within their incomes, else they soon come to grief. I promise you that if the Republican Party is entrusted with the full governmental control that the work of saving, so well begun in Congress, will be persistently continued. The government must first set the example of economy, and when it does that, we shall have started on the path that leads to lower cost levels for which the people are calling.

While many people have high wages and large incomes there is a very considerable portion of our people who have not been able to expand their incomes and upon them the great burden of supporting their families has been a most grievous burden. We must have thought for these patient people. The value of a dollar is the measure of its purchasing power and it has profited little to receive double pre-war wages, if the cost of living has trebled. We have this excessive living cost, and no matter how it came about we must meet it.

That Violated Promise

The Democratic Party, you will remember, came into power eight years ago on the promise to reduce the then high cost of living, though it is a blessed memory now. Well, I submit they haven't succeeded very well, though in 1914 they came perilously near doing it. However, extraordinary conditions have contributed to advance prices, and profiteering has added its irritations. Some people have looked to Congress for remedies to help the situation. Congress carefully considered all possible means and applied the one available remedy—the reduction of expenditures. It did more, however; it sought to repeal the war-time measures that the government might once more function as the framers planned.

Never in our history has government come into such close contact with the individual. For many years and until quite recently, except in war-time, the individual only paid dues to the federal government when

he used tobacco or spirits. Now the necessity for raising revenue to meet the greatly expanded governmental needs has caused various kinds of direct taxes upon individuals and individual enterprises. Various commissions, bureaus and other agencies representing governmental authority are in constant touch with our personal and business affairs. Once government was rather remote — a thing apart, while now it has the most intimate relations with us. For this reason all must take a deeper and more personal concern in our public affairs. If you are interested in a corporation you have a concern in it because it means money—perhaps profit to you.

A Great Business Concern

The government is a great business concern—a corporation, if you please—in which the citizens are the stockholders, and as such, you are now getting your quadrennial balance sheet. You know what your board of directors—the Congress—has done, and likewise you learn with what skill and ability your executives have managed the business affairs; whether they have practiced economy, or whether they have pursued loose and wasteful methods. Upon the record ought to be made the decision of the citizens whether to retain their present servants.

Since we are neighbors, so situated that you made your pilgrimage overland today, I think it becoming to say a word concerning the problem of good roads. Improved highways are so important to modern life and present-day speed and frequency of communication that the ox-cart days and corduroy roads are of almost impossible memory. Truly, we live in the motor age. Marion and Upper Sandusky are less than an hour apart, even when we keep speed limits prescribed by law.

We were generous in road expenditures before state aid came to our encouragement. We are more generous now because of federal aid. But that does not justify extravagance, broken fidelity to contract, dishonest expenditure or neglect of upkeep. I want to see maintained federal encouragement, but I want more to see maintained roads. It is nothing less than a criminal waste of public funds to expend thousands of dollars per mile on improved highways, and then allow them to go to ruin before half the bonds issued to pay for them have come to maturity. It is just as important to maintain as it is to construct. No one would tolerate such costly neglect in his private business. It is better to have one highway properly maintained than a dozen neglected roads, giving convicted evidence of wasted funds, and depreciating motor-car values to even greater amounts. If I can have any influence relating to federal aid for post roads and main highways, I will ask Congress to stipulate that for every dollar expended there must be provision for maintenance and guaranteed permanence of the improvement.

A Common Interest

There is another thought which is suggested by our neighborly relation and common interest. It doesn't alter our esteem for fellow-Americans who are less intimately associated to confess our closer interest because of neighborly relationship. I can recall several instances of intimate co-operation growing out of our very natural common interest. Our lands are adjoining, our ambitions are alike. In agriculture, in business exchanges, in guarding public health, in promoting education, in seeking every public good, Marion and Wyandot might work together effectively and confidently, because of our natural partnership and adjacent territory.

Let us make the application in the wider sphere. Nobody has a thought of American aloofness to the world, nobody would tolerate the thought of American failure to make full contribution to world progress, maintained peace and preserved peace. But, frankly, doesn't our sphere for the greater and more helpful influence lie in our natural partnership on the western continent, in the Pan-American comity, much dreamed about, but so little realized? It requires no denationalizing, it demands neither assumption nor surrender to promote the natural international countries and co-operations of America. Here ought to be mutual trade interests, mutual friendship, mutual helpfulness, not in isolation from the remainder of the world, but in the frank spirit of contiguous co-operation.

It would be better to cultivate waiting opportunities in friendly soil in the New World than chase a phantom amid the envies and rivalries of the Old.

You spoke, Mr. Carey, about your interest in national self-preservation. Let me assure you of one thing, in the nation's return to Republican control will be one outstanding assurance—there will be no surrender of inspiring nationality for paralyzing internationality. Ours shall continue to be the United States of America, free to exercise the American conscience, and perform a free people's part for ourselves, for humanity and for justice everywhere.

My Countrymen:—Two sons of Wyandot County are here today who have made the greatest sacrifice for country which men may offer short of life itself. They were blinded under the flag, our Flag, in the Argonne. I want to publicly pledge to them and to their comrades who suffered impairment for a full part in life the Republic's unfailing and grateful consideration. They are the heroes of a nation and civilization preserved.

And I want to pledge them something more. I know what inspired their heroism. I know what made them proud soldiers of the Republic. They were fighting for America and American rights. They answered the challenge of American rights. They fought to defend American lives,

American freedom on the seas, and American ideals of international relationship.

If it had been for democracy alone, they would have gone when Belgium was invaded. If it had been for humanity alone, they would have answered the Lusitania's sinking. Their hearts were stirred, their supreme offering was made when America was imperiled.

They can never see again Old Glory, sublime at home and signalling our concept of freedom and justice throughout the world. But I pledge to them this afternoon an assurance in their hearts where their blind eyes cannot convey—there never shall be a substitute for the Stars and Stripes they last beheld.

A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING TO MARION COUNTY TEACHERS INSTI- TUTE, MARION, OHIO, AUGUST 26, 1920

This is really a very happy experience. I am very happy to have your call. Of course, you think we always say that, but I speak with the utmost sincerity. My mind runs back to something like thirty-eight years ago—which, of course, none of you ladies can remember—when I was myself in attendance as a teacher at a Marion County Institute. I had only come from college the year before, and I did what was very much the practice of that time—turned to teaching in my abundant fullness of knowledge, merely as a temporary occupation. If I only knew as much now as I thought I knew then, I would be abundantly capable of fulfilling the office for which I have been named.

It is a very inspiring thing to be a teacher of American youth. In our modern life we have shifted some of the responsibility which I think should accrue to parenthood over to the teachers in our public schools. So you have much to do with making the citizenship in this Republic of ours, and you ought to be the best rated profession, the best cared for profession in America. I believe that our teachers should be compensated as liberally, if not more liberally, than any other profession. I do not try to give you the impression that the federal government can do that; but we do have a federal Department of Education which has only a relative influence on educational work. Some day we may have a much larger and more important department of education; but in any event the federal government can exert its influence in behalf of a becoming recognition of the teaching profession. If the enterprise in which we are now engaged succeeds, as I believe it will, you are going to have a friend of the teaching profession in a position of influence in the United States.

I do not believe that all which has been placed on your shoulders ought to be taken from the American homes. I will not discuss that at length, but I do think teachers ought to know the home a little more intimately, and ought to have the co-operation of the parents and the home.

May I revert for the moment to an experience when I was teaching? I am not sure I was a very good teacher, but I was at least ambitious to be a good one. I taught in a country school. If you have never done that you don't know the real pleasure of teaching. We had all the branches of elementary teaching, up to the heights of algebra, general history. One day I put on the blackboard the forms for addressing and closing a letter. After explanations, I erased the blackboard form and asked the pupils to address me a letter on their slates. One obstinate youth refused, and I was obliged to discipline him. He happened to be a son of one of the school directors who compensated me for my unusual interest in his boy by writing me that I was engaged to teach what was in the text book, namely, reading, writing, and arithmetic, and not to go beyond. So he declined to sign my pay warrant! That actually happened only about thirty-eight years ago in this county!

We have made some advances since then. We are advancing in education, as in civilization. Government, to some of you, doubtless seems a very simple thing. When I came home on July 5th, I said something to the effect that we defend our government because of a reverence that we feel by reason of viewing government from afar. That reverence does not always remain with us when we view it too closely; and yet it is a very wholesome thing for us. Men of sincerity, conscience and patriotism, just such men as we are, will succeed reasonably well in public service if they give all of conscience and earnestness and patriotism that they possess to the service. Our form of government is simple, and I rejoice to say it is responding to the aspirations and convictions and ambitions of the American people. We have wrought in our Republic one of the marvels of history, and we have accomplished it because of our independence of action and our unfailing devotion to the interests of America. We do not need to hold aloof from the world. Those of us who opposed the League of Nations covenant that the President brought home, linked with the Treaty of Versailles, are just as anxious for America to play its proper part in the world as all of you are to play your proper parts in your own drama of life.

No one can hold aloof and be free from influences that necessarily affect him; neither individuals, nor states, nor nations. There is no person who does not possess some share of influence. But I most sincerely hold that America can render greatest service to the world by maintaining first its entire freedom of action, and then maintaining its capacity

to help the world with its splendid example of popular representative government. America has never been remiss in its obligations.

When America went into the World War, it went in to defend our national rights first, and after that to contribute fittingly our full part to the maintenance of civilization.

I want America to go on always, sure of its own conscience, and ready to play the part of the greatest, the freest, and most conscientious country in the world.

A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING AT ATHLETIC TOURNAMENT OF EM- PLOYEES OF THE ERIE RAILWAY, GALION, OHIO, AUGUST 27, 1920

Furnishes Opportunity

This occasion of your athletic tournament furnishes me with an opportunity to present to you and later on, I hope, to as many Americans as I can reach, something for all of us to think about deeply.

From time immemorial the nations and races which have been fit to assume leadership in the world were those whose people knew how to excel in athletic sports and had not forgotten how to play—and how to play hard. The great civilizations—those which have left a profound effect upon the development of mankind, those which have contributed not only to exploration, to the extension of orderly government, to supremacy of arms but even in greater measure to the thought and philosophy of the world have been the nations that developed athletic sports—who know how to play. There was Greece, famous for the original Olympic games; there was Rome, that for centuries kept alive the customs of athletic competition in her arenas; there is the United Kingdom, great extender of enlightenment to far corners of the earth. Japan, leader in the Orient, built her power and her alertness by a tradition of training in competitive games such as wrestling and sword play. And, thank God, there is America, the stronghold of liberty and the square deal, which still can take the honors in the world's competitions in healthy sports.

I am glad to make a campaign speech about play. I believe that play, not mere entertainment, not reading comic strips or "passing the time," as some say, but real play, play that gives a man or woman a chance to express himself or herself as an individual, is one of the finest assets in our national life and one of the best builders of character.

I believe there are reasons behind the fact that the nations that have led the world have fostered athletic games and know how to play, how

to express their spirit through play, how to develop character through competition and how to let off turbulence of the spirit and wasting restlessness and discontent of mind and poisons of the body through good hard play.

Nothing is more important to America than citizenship; there is more assurance of our future in the individual character of our citizens than in any proposal I, and all the wise advisers I can gather, can ever put into effect in Washington.

We may as well go back to that sound idea right now. America will never rise higher than the merit and worth of her combined individual citizens. No nation ever has, none ever will.

Play for Everybody

I regard play as having no small part in the building of citizenship. I do not mean play for children, I mean play for everybody. The war left us nervous and irritable. As time goes on we are going to see that an industrial age will inevitably concentrate men in cities. The business executive, unless he looks out, will die at his desk—not his body perhaps but his spirit, and the worker particularly the man behind the machine who makes only a few motions over and over again each day will have no means of self expression and his spirit will die too.

There are other reliefs that we must provide for these evils that threaten us but the renewal and the preservation of a national custom of play and of athletic sports is vital to preserve the fitness of our citizenship.

Teaches the Square Deal

Competition in play teaches the square deal. [Competition in play teaches the love of the free spirit to excel by one's own merit. A nation that has not forgotten how to play, a nation that fosters athletics is a nation that is always holding up the high ideal of equal opportunity for all.] Go back through history and find the nations that did not play and had no outdoor sports and you will find the nations of oppressed peoples.]

I am making no appeal in this campaign that I will not be willing to have tested by the standards that good competitive sport has set up in all ages and among all fair men. These are the standards of a good citizenship which is willing to play the game. I want only those behind me who are willing to play the game. We have had too much encouragement from Washington given to the man who wanted to cut second base, or get something for nothing. In the first place, that is not a square deal to the rest of us, in the second place there is no way to make a delivery that is worth anything.

I have not said anything yet about the effect that wholesome play has upon national health. [We received a rude shock when during the war

we came to examine physically that part of our population that is commonly called "the flower of American manhood." We examined in the first draft a little over two and a half million men and not counting those who were rejected later at mobilization camps, the percentage of rejections on account of physical unfitness went right along day after day between twenty-five and thirty-three and a third per cent.]

What It Means

Do you know what that means? [It means that one out of every three or four young Americans in their prime—between twenty-one and thirty—are unfit.] And although I am not a doctor, nor even a professor, I will take a chance and say that most of that unfitness came from unwise eating, sleeping, bad habits and no play, no exercise, no working out the poisons in good sweat, no adjustment of the human frame by stretching it in competitive effort.

Nevertheless in spite of the need for play to bring back American bodies to health, so that health may be the sacred heritage of children yet unborn, I put, even above the boons of health that play gives, the greater treasures that it confers and always will confer upon nations that preserve its customs and its morals—the treasures of a sense of fair play and of honor given to those who equal opportunity.

Let me tell you the things which are in my heart about railway employment. No matter what any one tells you, no matter what your own erroneous impressions are, no thoughtful man in business or private life, no earnest man in public life is without a deep concern for the good fortunes of every railway worker, in the shop, in the yards or office, on the track or on the trains—every man in the service. We may differ about the way to best conditions and the assurances of soul and contentment in your work, but we are agreed about the ends at which we aim.

Boyhood Ambitions

It was my boyhood ambition to be a locomotive driver. I did not know then the hard-working route over which a fireman had to win his promotion.

But youthful days were full of admiration for the great iron steeds, and my earliest recollection is of helping to "wood up" on the old Atlantic and Great Western and the old Bee Line, before coal-burning locomotives came into use, when we boys heaved wood for the mere joy of the association, when even there was no ride in prospect as a saving compensation.

Later on, in quite early youth, I made a night trip with Billy Amzon, on the Bee Line from Caledonia to Union City, with a quarter as my cash resource, and luckily the crew turned at Union City for an immediate return, and I rode and rang the bell and sometimes shoveled coal on

the last freight train over the road before the memorable strike of 1877. There were no mechanical stokers in those days, but I learned enough to know that I would favor them now.

One day, when I was a member of the Ohio senate, I happened to tell the legislative agent of the locomotive engineers my boyhood ambition, and one day he caught me on a train on the Erie between Youngstown and Cleveland. He said he meant to call my bluff, that the superintendent of motor-power was on the engine and I must go to the cab and do the driving. And I went. That was no occasion for a white feather. The driver in charge got the train under way—thoroughly under way, I must say—then I took the driver's seat. I reached the throttle as I had dreamed in boyhood, I showed my capacity to reach the air and wistle, maybe I looked the part of a real engineer.

It's Some Ride

But I could not certify the rhythm or tranquility of my heart. I whistled for crossings and villages, then sensed a down grade, and I swear we seemed to be going eighty miles an hour. I turned to get a reassuring look and my heart arose to choke me—the driver and superintendent and that conspiring Dunnivant had disappeared behind the firing end of that raging Mother Hubbard, and I sat alone in my realm of early ambition. Of course, they were watching and ready for an emergency, but I couldn't see them. I saw only villages, seemingly only a few rods apart, and road crossings so close that fly screens seemed loose laced, and I fancied fatalities and wrecks without number. But I rode on, apparently alone in my responsibility until the Cleveland yards came within sight, and I have never been ambitious to be a driver since then.

But recollection has set me adrift from the thought I wished to offer. Heretofore I have said publicly, and I choose to repeat to you, that I believe railway workers ought to know the best conditions and be as abundantly compensated as any wage earners in our modern activities. I am not thinking of the rail workers alone. I am thinking of the American public.

Greatest Necessity

Transportation is the great necessity of modern life. We could not have our present-day methods without it. The sustenance of the cities and their millions depend upon it, the good fortunes of the agricultural world are inseparable therefrom.

There is nothing else on which we are so reliant. As a publisher I want to know that my paper supply is coming promptly, and the printed papers speedily carried to those at a distance who read them. When one travels he not only wishes to go speedily but he wants to ride safely. Contemplating it all, I want to have confidence in the workman who keeps

the track in order, in the switchman and the tower-man, who keep the track clear, in the shop-man, who keeps coach and locomotive in order, in the train crew, which is immediately and directly responsible for my safety—for all in the work of transportation, high or low. It is the surpassing organization of a continent linked in intimate, neighborly association.

This is why it must be highly rewarded and know the best working conditions. I do not speak it to win your favor, I speak it because I think America believes as I do.

Will Hail It Some Day

I know the Congress feels that way. I may speak of Congress from intimate association. I know what the members were thinking. We enacted the Cummins-Esch law. Some of you do not approve, and do not approve now. Some of you wished the Plumb plan. Let me look you in the face, many of you are friends and neighbors, and let me tell you I think the Cummins-Esch act is the expression of the conscience of a Congress which sought to give highest service to the country in an hour of imperiled transportation and the same time assure to the American railway worker a just consideration never assured him before. Some day, maybe not this year, you railway workers will hail that law as the greatest forward step in all the history of railway legislation.

Time does not admit more than a reference to workers' interest. Let me ask what the great force of railway workers must wish—wish for themselves and are willing to concede to others. Justice, is it not? Justice is the underlying foundation of civilization, justice is the inspiration and compensation of all endeavor. And the Cummins-Esch act has aimed at justice, full, complete and instant justice for the railway wage-earner; justice on appeal and hearing, without having to fight or measure strength; justice without inconveniencing the American people or hindering their transportation, or suspending railway activities.

I like to think of an era in public service where government means not only to guarantee but to bestow prompt justice on the workers in a public service, not grudgingly yield it in an hour of apprehension and concern. Your service is not that of workmen in a private and competitive enterprise.

All Under Control

No matter what old abuses prevail, no matter what crimes were once committed, capital and its issues and compensations are under government control, rates of charges are also under government regulation, and I want continuity of service a government guaranty, assured because your government and the people's government makes your just treatment its first concern. You wouldn't wish your government to do more

because you want just government for all the people, not a government yielding to class. Our thought must be more than one of today. Most of the railway workers have sons and daughters who will choose other pursuits in life.

A reassuring contemplation of the morrow sees a government which ever thinks of all the people and seeks to add to their common good fortune.

A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING TO DELEGATION OF INDIANA CITIZENS, MARION, OHIO, AUGUST 28, 1920

The League of Nations

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Indiana Delegation: I greet you in a spirit of rejoicing; not a rejoicing in the narrow personal or partisan sense; not in the gratifying prospects of party triumph; not in the contemplation of abundance in the harvest fields and ripening corn fields and maturing orchards; not in the reassuring approach of stability after a period of wiggling and wobbling which magnified our uncertainty—though all of these are ample for our wide rejoicing—but I rejoice that America is still free and independent and in a position of self-reliance and holds to the right of self-determination, which are priceless possessions in the present turbulence of the world.

Let us suppose the Senate had ratified the peace treaty containing the league covenant as submitted to it by the President in July of last year, what would be the situation confronting our common country today? To my mind there is but one answer. Before this day we would have been called upon to fulfil the obligations which we had assumed under Article 10 of the league covenant, to preserve the territorial integrity of Poland "as against external aggression."

Sympathy for Poland

I shall not now attempt to measure the boundless sympathy for the just aspirations and restored independence of Poland. Our present concern is the international situation which Poland has brought to our attention.

The council of the League of Nations would have reasoned, and reasoned correctly, that the United States could furnish the munitions and, if necessary, the men to withstand the hordes advancing from Russia far more easily than could the exhausted nations of Europe. Moreover, inasmuch as this would be the first test of the scheme of world government which was formulated and demanded by the President, speaking

for the United States, the fact of a special responsibility, resting upon our shoulders, manifestly would have been undeniable. Undoubtedly the league council, in "advising upon the means" by which the obligations to Poland should be fulfilled, as provided in the covenant, would have so held, and probably the conscience of America, certainly the opinion of the world, would have sustained that judgment.

Had Treaty Been Ratified

The conclusion that our country might now be confronted by such a situation, if the Senate had ratified the league covenant, requires no stretch of the imagination. None can deny that it is possible. To many candid minds, as to my own, such a distressing situation will seem highly probable. Let us assume that the ratification had taken place. Let us assume, further, that the performance of the allotted task required the waging of war upon the Russian people, as, of course, it would, what would result? What would of necessity have to result? Nothing necessarily, we are glibly informed, since only the Congress can declare war, and the Congress might reject the appeal of the Executive. But would the Congress do that? Could the Congress do that without staining indelibly the honor of the nation?

Answer Is "No"

I answer "No," and I say it not on my own authority alone. Back of my judgment stands the President of the United States. Upon that point there is first-hand information. In the course of the discussion which took place at the meeting of the President and the senate committee on foreign relations, I raised the question by stating a hypothetical case precisely analogous to that which I have depicted, and then inquired whether we might not rightfully be regarded as a perfidious people if we should fail to contribute an armed force, if called upon to do so. The President first replied, as I thought somewhat evasively, that we "would be our own judges as to whether we were obliged in those circumstances to act in that way or not." Pressed further, however, in response to a query incorporating the assumption that "the case provided for and prescribed had arisen" and that "the extraneous attack did exist precisely as it does exist today in Poland," the President admitted specifically that "we would be untrue if we did not keep our word."

A Debt of Honor

Replying further to a question which perhaps I ought not to have considered necessary, the President pronounced a moral obligation "of course superior to a legal obligation" and of "a greater binding force."

What then becomes of the argument that Congress, not the President, in this instance at any rate, might "keep us out of war?" Technically, of course, it could do so. Morally, with equal certainty, it could not do

so nor would it ever do so. The American people would never permit a repudiation of a debt of honor. No Congress would ever dare make this Nation appear as a welcher, as it would appear and would be in such an event before the eyes of the world.

Am I not right, my countrymen, in saying that we needed only the outbreak of war between Poland and Russia to make us realize at least one of the things which, in the words of Secretary Lansing, we would have been "let in for," but for the restraining hand of the Senate, and to fetch home to us the danger of committing our country in advance to causes that we know not of?

Not Our Purpose

One can have no quarrel with those who have convinced themselves that our underlying purpose in entering the great conflict was to create a league of nations. The fact remains, however, that no such intent was officially acclaimed, no allusion, nor even a suggestion to that effect appeared in the joint resolution of Congress which declared the existence of a state of war between this Country and Germany. For myself I left no room for doubt of the motives which led me to cast my vote in favor of that resolution. It so happened that I made the concluding speech upon the war resolution, from my place in the Senate, on the night of April 4, 1917. These were my own words at that time:

For American Rights

" I want it known to the people of my state and to the nation that I am voting for war tonight for the maintenance of just American rights, which is the first essential to the preservation of the soul of this republic.

" I vote for this joint resolution to make war, not a war thrust upon us, if I choose the language of the resolution, but a war declared in response to affronts; a war that will at least put a soul into our American life; a war not for the cause of the allies of Europe; a war not for France, beautiful as the sentiment may be in reviving at least our gratitude to the French people; not precisely a war for civilization, worthy and inspiring as that would be; but a war that speaks for the majesty of a people properly governed, who finally are brought to the crucial test where they are resolved to get together and wage a conflict for the maintenance of their rights and the preservation of the covenant inherited from their fathers.

"We have given to the world the spectacle of a great nation that could make war without selfish intent. We unsheathed the sword some eighteen years ago for the first time in the history of the world, in the name of humanity, and we gave proof to the world at that time of an unselfish nation. Now, whether it is the fate, or fortune, or travail of destiny, it has come to us to unsheathe the sword again, not alone for humanity's

sake—though that splendid inspiration will be involved—but to unsheathe the sword against a great power in the maintenance of the rights of the Republic, in the maintenance which will give to us a new guaranty of nationality. That's the great thing, and I want it known, Mr. President and senators, that this is the impelling thought with me for one, when I cast my vote."

For Same Guaranty Today

It is for that same "guaranty of nationality" that I stand today, and shall continue to stand inflexibly, so long as I shall be permitted to live. The independence of our great Republic is to me a priceless and sacred inheritance. Time was when an American did not hesitate to proclaim himself a patriot. To do so now, I am well aware, is sometimes to invite the sneers of cynicism. But why should any true American not be free to say: "I am a patriot, wholly devoted to my country, which I hold to be God's best inspiration to man for higher attainment and the promotion of the world's best civilization?" Perhaps that sounds trite or commonplace. But can it be too often said or thought as a reminder of our plain duty and our abiding source of inspiration?

Challenges Statement

But I have a special reason for making this reference today. I challenge the statement that the patriotism which holds America first comprehends either narrowness or selfishness, or as implying tacit suspicion and jealousy of other peoples. On the contrary, it is the bearer of the greatest good will, the kindest of feeling, the best of fraternity and the most helpful of spirits.

To assert, as some have asserted heedlessly, that those of us who honestly believe that America can best serve all mankind as America, free and untrammled, rather than as one in a pitiable minority among many states in merged world government, lack consciousness of the rightful demands of humanity, is to utter a gross and unpardonable libel. To attribute meanness to those of us who, in the performance of our public duty, refused to participate in what we sincerely regarded as a betrayal of our own country in the interest of others, is to discredit the intelligence and discrimination of the great mass of American people who directly, by their votes, put us in our positions of trust. For myself, I yield to no man in willingness, aye, in eagerness, to render the greatest conceivable assistance to the stricken peoples of Europe. I include all of them and speak with a genuinely sympathetic heart, whether it is to mention devastated France, or sorely-tried Italy, or nobly-struggling Poland, or distracted and misguided Russia, or gallant little Belgium, or pitifully deceived Austria, or the ruthless invader, Germany, which came

to the supreme tragedy through a leadership which brought disaster to her misguided people.

It was with that feeling of sympathy and desire to serve, that most reluctantly and with grave misgivings, as I announced at the time, I voted to accept the league covenant with reservations designed to preserve our essential liberty of action. The record is made, and under the same conditions, confronted by the same alternative, I should vote now as I voted then.

Conditions Have Changed

But the conditions have changed. Experience has brought enlightenment. We know now that the league constituted at Versailles is utterly impotent as a preventive of wars. It is so obviously impotent that it has not even been tried. It could not survive a single test. The original league, mistakenly conceived and unreasonably insisted upon, has undoubtedly passed beyond the possibility of restoration. The maturer judgment of the world will be that it deserved to pass for the very simple reason that, contrary to all of the tendencies developed by the civilizing processes of the world, it rested upon the power of might, not of right.

The assertion is made frequently that through the surrender of our nationality, we might have saved the life of the covenant, that is to say that, although twenty-eight nations could not make it function, one added to the twenty-eight would have achieved a glowing success, provided, always, that the one were America.

Great Tribute to America

This pays to America the tribute of exceptional influence, but I suggest that if the world is dependent upon our action to bring about the supreme realization, then we ought to have the say about our own freedom in participating therein. But let us consider what is meant by this reliance upon America. What can it signify if not that it is to the United States, and to the United States alone, that the other twenty-eight nations look for the bone and sinew, the money, the munitions and the men to sustain the entire organization, not as an agency of peace, but as an armed force?

A Telling Admission

A few days ago a delegation of an organization, which calls itself a Society for the Prevention of War, appealed to the premier of Great Britain to unite and use the powers of the world in defense of Poland, Armenia and the Dardanelles. The British premier replied, according to his remarks quoted by the newspapers, to the effect that, while the formation of "an international army" would be "an ideal solution," it could not be accomplished because the European nations could not furnish the troops, and the United States had "withdrawn from co-operation,"—

a polite and diplomatic phrase and more exactly meaning, of course, that the Senate of the United States had not completed the partial obligation assumed by the President to do that very thing, that is, to "furnish the troops." Could a clearer indication of what would have been expected of this country as a member of the league be desired? Hardly. Some, too, think, or say they think, that this extraordinary service should be rendered. I do not agree with them, but, assuming that they are right, I venture to note that nothing stands in the way of performance. The President has only to call upon Congress to declare war, and to confer upon him specific authority to raise armies for the protection to the powers, which though recently associated with, are still foreign to our own Republic.

Not to be Anticipated

It is reasonably safe to assume, however, that the President will not pursue this course. Fortunately, he is under no "compelling moral obligation" under the league to do so. His recent unhappy experience, moreover, in asking Congress to send American boys to police Armenia would hardly encourage repetition of a request already courteously but quite firmly declined by the Congress. What then, in like circumstances, would be the answer of the British premier himself? One does not have far to seek this available advice. In his own words, addressing a meeting of the Coalition Liberals on August 12 last, according to the press reports, he said:

"When the terrible question of peace or war has to be decided, our first duty as a government is to the people who trust us not to commit their treasure to any unjustifiable adventure. Nothing but the most imperative call of national honor, national safety and national freedom can justify war. Before this country is committed to it, even in the most limited form, we must be satisfied that these are in peril."

I quote these telling words, my countrymen, with the utmost satisfaction, because with one amendment they express to a nicety my own position. I take for granted that the prime minister meant to include in "treasure" the greatest treasure of all, but, for myself, I should leave nothing to be inferred. Foremost and above all else to be safeguarded by those of us who hold the trust of the people, it goes without saying, but can not be too often repeated, is the manhood of the nation. American boys are not born to be made the sacrifices of war except when it is clearly and unmistakably in defense of their country.

Will Not Misuse Power

Now, it may appear to you that I have been speaking chiefly in the negative. I make the admission. What is more, I might continue to do so almost indefinitely without disadvantage to our cause. So many things

have been done by the present expiring administration that no power on earth could induce me to do, that I can not even attempt to recount them. I may remark casually, however, that if I should be, as I fully expect to be, elected President of this just and honorable^{ly} Republic, I will not empower an assistant secretary of the navy to draft a constitution for helpless neighbors in the West Indies and jam it down their throats at the point of bayonets borne by United States marines. We have a higher service for our gallant marines than that. Nor will I misuse the power of the Executive to cover with a veil of secrecy repeated acts of unwarranted interference in domestic affairs of the little republics of the western hemisphere, such as in the past few years have not only made enemies of those who should be our friends, but have rightfully discredited our country as their trusted neighbor.

Will Submit to No Wrong

On the other hand, I will not or shall not, as you prefer, submit to any wrong against any American citizen, with respect to either his life or his property, by any government. This statement is made in all solemnity with enmity for none and freindship for all. If it particularly applies to Mexico, the application has been directed by the robbery and murder of hunderds of our own people in that unhappy country, who were lawfully there and were entitled to protection. One must admit that these outrages upon Americans are largely the consequences of the wiggling and wobbling, the supine waiting of our own government, though the admission neither helps the hurt, nor gives the hope of security for the future while the present administration remains in power, or when one in "complete accord" succeeds it.

This admonition is not directed exclusively toward our next-door neighbor to whom we would gladly hold forth a helping hand, and whom primarily, certainly in preference to far-off peoples in Europe, Asia and Africa, it is our manifest duty to serve with a whole heart and generous tolerance. It is intended for a plain notice to every government on the face of the earth that the entire resources of this Nation are pledged to maintain the sacredness of American lives and the just protection of American properties. This is not bombast, my countrymen, it is a note of assurance which is the right of American citizenship. You know that I am not given to exaggeration or undue emphasis. It is a simple fact, or rather, speaking more precisely, it is going to be the fact if you elect me President.

Line of Demarcation Plain

The line of demarcation between our attitude and that of our political opponents is perfectly plain. The President has made his position clear by his acts no less than by his words. Twice there came to him an oppor-

tunity to obtain ratification at the hands of the Senate and twice he put the opportunity aside, because he would not accept reservations designed solely to safeguard American rights. He still holds Article 10 to be the heart of the covenant. So does the Democratic platform. So does the Democratic nominee. To assume that the nominee would accept the reservations rejected by the President and denounced by the party platform is to impugn his integrity. To insinuate, as those who in proclaiming themselves for the Democratic candidate and "the league with reservations" do insinuate, that he would pursue such a course in seeking ratification is not to pay him a compliment, but rather to challenge his sincerity.

For myself, I do not question for a moment the truth of what the Democratic nominee says on this subject. He has flatly said he is "in favor of going in" on the basis announced by the President. I am not. That is the whole difference between us, but it is a most vital one, because it involves the disparity between a world court of justice supplemented by a world association for conference, on the one hand, and the council of the league, on the other.

The Difference

The difference between a court of international justice and the council created by the league covenant is simple but profound.

The one is a judicial tribunal to be governed by fixed and definite principles of law administered without passion or prejudice. The other is an association of diplomats and politicians, whose determinations are sure to be influenced by considerations of expediency and national selfishness. The difference is one with which Americans are familiar, the old and fundamental difference between a government of laws and a government of men.

I do not mean to say, nor do I mean to permit any such construction, that I would decline to co-operate with other nations in an honest endeavor to prevent wars. Nobody living would take that position. The only question is one of method or of practicability within the bounds prescribed by fundamental principles.

There are distinctly two types of international relationship. One is an offensive and defensive alliance of great powers, like that created at Versailles, to impose their will upon the helpless peoples of the world. Frankly, I am opposed to such a scheme as that, and I speak knowingly when I say that the associated powers, with whom we fought the war, were reluctant to accept such a proposition.

I am opposed to the very thought of our Republic becoming a party to so great an outrage upon other peoples, who have as good a right to seek their political freedom as we had in 1776 and have the same right

to developing eminence under the inspiration of nationality as we held for ourselves.

The Other Type

The other type is a society of free nations, or an association of free nations, or a league of free nations, animated by considerations of right and justice, instead of might and self-interest, and not merely proclaimed an agency in pursuit of peace, but so organized and so participated in as to make the actual attainment of peace a reasonable possibility. Such an association I favor with all my heart, and I would make no fine distinction as to whom credit is due. One need not care what it is called. Let it be an association, a society, or a league, or what not, our concern is solely with the substance, not the form thereof.

This is proposing no new thing. This country is already a member of such a society—The Hague tribunal, which, unlike the league of Versailles, is still functioning, and within a few weeks will resume its committee sessions under the chairmanship of an American representative.

Cause of Failure Apparent

In that body we have the framework of a really effective instrumentality of enduring peace. The fact that the tribunal did not prevent the Great War is, of course, manifest, but the cause of the failure is no less apparent. Germany, already secretly determined upon a ruthless invasion, was able to prevent the adoption of measures which might have proved effectual. The condition now is wholly different. Not only Germany, but the entire world, has profited to the extent of an awful object lesson, the impressions of which can not be erased from the human mind for generations to come. The horrors of war and the eagerness for peace have become universal. What once seemed at The Hague to be a mere academic discussion has become a positive, outstanding need of facing terrifying actualities. This makes vastly easier the task of so strengthening The Hague tribunal as to render its just decrees either acceptable or enforceable. It is not uncommon for the advocates of the league of Versailles to contrast unfavorably The Hague tribunal upon the ground that the tribunal "lacks teeth."

Let's Install the Teeth

Very well, then, let's put teeth into it. If, in the failed league of Versailles, there can be found machinery which the tribunal can use properly and advantageously, by all means let it be appropriated. I would even go further. I would take and combine all that is good and excise all that is bad from both organizations. This statement is broad enough to include the suggestion that if the league, which has heretofore riveted our considerations and apprehensions, has been so entwined and interwoven into the peace of Europe, that its good must be preserved in order to

stabilize the peace of that continent, then it can be amended or revised so that we may still have a remnant of world aspirations in 1918 builded into the world's highest conception of helpful co-operation in the ultimate realization.

I believe humanity would welcome the creation of an international association for conference and a world court whose verdicts upon justiciable questions, this country in common with all nations would be both willing and able to uphold. The decision of such a court or the recommendations of such a conference could be accepted without sacrificing on our part or asking any other power to sacrifice one iota of its nationality.

Already Abandoned by Europe

The Democratic nominee has spoken about America abandoning her associates in war and deserting the allied nations in establishing the league of Versailles. I do not think it longer necessary to challenge that statement or pass further opinion upon the unfortunate league. It has already been abandoned by Europe, which had gone so far as to accept it by formal agreement in treaty. On this subject, we are fully informed at first hand. Only the other day the British premier said unresentfully that the essential co-operation of America might involve "some change, at any rate, in the form of the covenant," and he added, with characteristic outspokenness, "it is quite possible it might be a change for the better." Compare this with the obstinate insistence of the President and the Democratic nominee upon acceptance of the original document with only such "interpretations" as neither safeguard our liberties nor bind other powers in the slightest degree to the recognition of our just and proper reservations.

Listen, further, to the wise and far-seeing, former British ambassador, who was not permitted to present his credentials to our Executive.

On Our Own Terms

"As long," said Viscount Grey, hardly a month ago, "as long as the richest, most powerful, the greatest, both for population and territory, of the civilized countries of the world stands outside the league, the league will be unable to fulfill its destiny. To put it in quite plain terms, the Americans must be told that if they will only join the league they can practically name their own terms." Undoubtedly that is the fact. I ask: Is there any good reason why we should not avail ourselves of this privilege? I do not mean in any arrogant, or domineering, or patronizing, or selfish way, but simply as a matter of fairness and right to our own people. Surely it is becoming, and a duty as well, to safeguard our own people, since it is we who are the main contributors, while asking nothing for ourselves except to participate in a contribution to the promotion of world peace. Would not Great Britain, in like circumstances, exercise

such a prerogative? Would not France? Would not any nation rejoicing in nationality, buttressed by common-sense?

A Valued Suggestion

Viscount Grey continues: "The Americans should be entrusted with the task of drafting a reconstruction scheme." Then he suggests further that "a committee of the Senate—we must never forget the Senate's rights and duties in regard to foreign affairs being reinforced by the members of the House of Representatives, and also by nominees of the President, and Supreme Court—could draw up suggestions for the reconstruction of the league, which would be consonant with the feeling not of one, but of all parties in America."

Frankly, I value that suggestion very highly, because it is proffered obviously in a helpful and friendly spirit and reveals an important Old World opinion on the necessity of amendment, revision or reconstruction. It comprehends substantially what I would propose to do if elected President. I do not mean precisely that. It would be clearly unwise to undertake specific suggestions or to attempt to pass upon suggestions now. What is in my mind is the wisdom of calling into real conference the ablest and most experienced minds of this country, from whatever walks of life they may be derived and without regard to party affiliation, to formulate a definite, practical plan along the lines already indicated for the consideration of the controlling foreign powers.

Very Slight Objection

The objection, strongly uttered in some quarters, that this course would involve the reconvening of the entire convention may be regarded as a very slight one. The acceptance of our proposals by the few principal nations would undoubtedly be followed promptly by the acceptance on the part of the minor members of the alliance.

There would be no material delay. One can not disregard the leadership or have any doubt about the influence of the principal allied and associated powers. Insofar as I could do so, without disregarding the proprieties, I should give very earnest and practically undivided attention to this very vital subject from the day of my election and I should ask others to do likewise as a matter of public and patriotic duty. Indeed, I should hope to have behind me, after the decision on the national referendum we are soon to have, a country wholly united in earnest endeavor to achieve a true solution of this problem upon which the future civilization so largely depends. Does some one say that I ought to be more specific? One can not be, with any sense of certainty. No one can foresee the exact conditions by which our country will be confronted seven months hence. World opinion and our own opinion have been changing very rapidly in the past few months.

Already Announced

I have already announced that I shall urge prompt passage of the resolution, vetoed by the President, declaring at an end the preposterous condition of technical war when we are actually at peace. Simultaneously, I shall naturally advise the resumption by the Congress of its exceptional powers, which have been vested by war legislation in the Executive. I have no expectation whatever of finding it necessary or advisable to negotiate a separate peace with Germany.

In view of the simple fact that the allied powers with whom we were associated in the war have already formally concluded their peace, the passage of the peace resolution by Congress would merely give formal recognition to an obvious fact.

For manifest reasons, I could not hope now to reveal the exact outcome or to depict the precise methods of the accomplishment so much desired. One need have little doubt, however, of the effectiveness of the consciences of nations at work in concord amid the almost universal desire to take some forward, practical and effective action. During the six years of my service in Washington, I have co-operated quite insistently with my colleagues in maintaining the prerogatives of the Senate as defined by the constitution. In doing so, I felt that I was only performing my duty under my oath of office. Nevertheless, justly or unjustly, in common with others, I have been subjected to more or less criticism which, of course, I have no thought of resenting. The point which I have in mind is, if all goes well, on the 4th of March next, I shall cease to be a senator and almost as surely shall become the President. What I wish, in passing, to call to your attention, is that as senator I have established for myself a precedent and you may rest assured that I shall guard with equal firmness, insistence and jealousy the prerogatives of the Executive, who is perhaps more distinctly and personally responsible than any other official directly to the whole American people.

Our Unselfishness Emphasized

Let us take stock for a moment of America in the world, aye, and America at home. The end of the war found our unselfishness emphasized to all mankind, and the garlands of world leadership were bestowed from every direction. We had only to follow the path of America, rejoicing in the inheritance which led to our eminence, to rivet the gaze of all peoples upon our standards of national righteousness and our conception of international justice. Moreover, the world was ready to give us its confidence. It was the beckoning opportunity of the centuries, not for the glorification of the New World Republic, but for America to hold every outpost of advancing civilization and invite all nations to join the further advance to heights dreamed of, but

never approached before. But force of example was flung aside for force of armed alliance. We neglected our readjustments and restorations at home, and the cruel sacrifice of millions of lives and billions of treasure left us and the world groping in uncertainty and anxiety instead of revealing us in the sunlight of a new day, with lines formed, ready for the onward march of peace and all its triumphs.

Let's Resume Our Place

Mindful of our splendid example and renewing every obligation of association in war, I want America to be the rock of security at home, resolute in righteousness and unalterable in security and supremacy of the law. Let us be done with wiggling and wobbling. Steady America! Let us assure good fortune to all. We may maintain our eminence as a great people at home and resume our high place in the estimate of the world. Our moral leadership was lost when "Ambition" sought to superimpose a reactionary theory of discredited autocracy upon the progressive principle of living, glowing democracy. My chief aspiration, my countrymen, if clothed with power, will be to regain that lost leadership, not for myself, not even for my party, though honoring and trusting it as I do, but for my country, the country that I love from the bottom of my heart, and with every fibre of my being, above all else in the world.

A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING TO STATE GOVERNORS, MARION, OHIO, AUGUST 31, 1920

Reclamation

Your Excellencies:—It is a mighty pleasing thing to greet you as the official representatives of several of our great commonwealths, and especially gratifying to me to be able to take up with you, for brief discussion, one of the most interesting and timely problems of the day. I refer to that of reclamation and development in the great and wonderful West. What a wonderful land is ours! No one has ever come to a full realization of the physical incomparableness of these United States. Nature has been very generous with her bounty and has given us, in the great and measureless West, a variegated and picturesque empire, as beautiful as Switzerland, multiplied many times over in extent, and with a diversification of industry and enterprise which Switzerland could not develop because her mountains are well nigh barren of the riches which characterize the Rockies and the Coast ranges.

A True Appraisal

Some day, perhaps, we shall come to an appraisal of the mountain West and shall learn something about its contents in coal, copper, iron, gold and silver, and almost every useful mineral deposit; but these are not all; because the mountain West is rich in forests, and lakes of potash, and vast deposits of phosphates, and possesses almost measureless areas that need only water to make them blossom like a garden of Eden; and the water is available and needs only the genius and the courage and capacity of man to apply it practically. People of the United States contemplate the wonderful West from varying viewpoints. In the East, the tendency is to think of it only as a wonderland, but those of the West, who have seen it from the intimate viewpoint, not only find unbounded interest in its possibilities, but want to sense the pride in its development.

Further Development

We have come to an era when further development attended by both reclamation and conservation, which go hand in hand, is an important and urgent problem. The world has always had a struggle to provide its food. In the practical development of the United States, we must ever continue the enlargement of the available food supply. Industrial development in the cities and agricultural development have gone more or less in harmony, because the one is absolutely essential to the other. Basically, we must be sure of our food supply first. The development of the Mississippi basin was cotemporaneous with the development of our wonderful American cities, and the marvel of American development began immediately after the civil war. In that conflict we made certain of indissoluble union and put an end to all doubts in the federal constitution and then turned to expanded settlement and development with full confidence in the future.

Farms Made Available

When the Union armies were dispersed, farms in the West were made available to tens of thousands of the defenders of union and nationality, the central plains were awaiting, almost untouched, and out of them were builded a dozen splendid commonwealths. There is a partially analogous situation now. There is an undeveloped mountain West awaiting the touch of genius and industry and there are doubtless thousands of service men who would be glad to turn to this most desirable development very much as service men did in the after period of the civil war. There are, of course, differences in condition, and the mountain lands are not so ready to answer man's call as were the prairies; but with a helpful policy on the part of government these lands can be made available for limitless contributions to the sustenance of the Republic and the compensation of those who participate in developing them.

It does not matter whether one thinks that agriculture is the inspiration of great cities and their supporting industrial areas, or whether one believes that agriculture is inspired and encouraged by the necessities of the industrial centers—they are, in fact, interdependent, and the fortune of one is inseparably linked with the fortune of the other. One thing is very certain, that intensive industrial development and the concentration of population in cities can not go on unless we have an expansion of the food supply upon which they depend for sustenance.

It is fairly contended that the American expansion of agriculture has had a very considerable part to play in the development of the great industrial centers of the Old World, as well as the magic building of our own. Nottingham and Manchester, Dusseldorf and Berlin, Turin and Barcelona, are almost as much concerned with the size of the American food surplus as are our own great cities.

Food Supply Essential

When all else is said, the fact still remains that all human endeavor must be assured of an ample food supply else nothing is to be accomplished. It is not to be said that we have outlived the world's capacity to produce a surplus of agricultural products, but, confessedly, we have gotten out of a properly-balanced proportion in the development of our agricultural supply. Much of the world, of course, remains undeveloped. It is said that the plains of Siberia, or the productive tropics, could accommodate the world's population with an abundance of food, but the trouble is that the great, virile, progressive peoples of the world are not inclined to live in Siberia, nor are they attracted to the tropics. As a matter of simple truth they lose the distinct activity and aggressiveness when taken out of the zones of present-day activity.

It is perfectly useless to talk about transplanting populations. The practical tasks of life are to make old Mother Earth contribute to the call of population wherever it may be located. Thus transportation becomes the key to the problem of supply.

The inter-mountain and Pacific West is endowed with riches known to no other region of the world. We came to a new appreciation of these riches during the anxieties of the World War. Necessity and a new realization of self-dependence led us to appraise the vast deposits of phosphates and the lakes of potash and the mines of tungsten, and we revived the production of silver and added to the output of lead and copper, because the warring world had no other such dependable supply. We turned to the abundance of spruce for our aeroplanes, and the rare metals for alloys, and we found the limitless abundance of coal and used it to bunker the shipping of the Pacific. We increased the supply of the long staple cotton, and of wool, and of meats and fruits. What-

ever it was that the world greatly needed and was listed in our own necessities, we discovered a goodly and reassuring share of it in the vast storehouse of the almost untouched natural resources of the great West.

Progress in Development

During the war we made a good deal of progress toward development of these resources, because the war made rapid and intensive effort necessary. But with the end of the war there came a tendency to slacken development. We find that some things were started, and then neglected or forgotten. With correct vision of a long future, contemplating continued growth, we might well recognize that to this inter-mountain empire we must turn for the same service as that rendered by our central plains when they were brought into productivity following the civil war.

Our vision, then, of the ultimate development of the mountain empire, reveals a great region, developed uniformly, with regard to all its variegated possibilities. I have never been able to think of "reclamation" as connoting merely the construction of ditches, and dams, and reservoirs, to put water on dry lands. In my view this has been only a phase—though a most important phase—of reclamation. I have believed that our mountain West is one day to be one of the richest and most completely self-contained economic areas in the world. My vision of the future pictures it as a wonderland whose streams are harnessed to great electrical units, from which flows the power to drive railway trains, to operate industries, to carry on the public utilities of cities, to smelt the metals, and to energize the activities of a teeming population.

Not long ago, a great journal of the South published an interview in which I attempted to suggest my hope and aspiration for the new South as a developed, renewed and finished community, based on the proper and complete utilization of all its opportunities. I have a similar thought about the possibilities of the mountain West. The "Great American Desert" disappeared out of our minds and geographies long ago, but we have retained the impression that our Rocky mountain area could never sustain populations and industries comparable with those of the central valley, or the East, or the South. This has done injustice to the Far West. The richness of its mountains, the power of its streams, the productivity of its valleys, the variety of its climate and opportunity, the possibility of its dry areas, all suggest its destiny to become the seat of an ideal civilization.

No Equal Anywhere

I undertake to say that there is no region in all the world whose resources could be developed to the utmost, with greater benefit to the world as a whole, and America in particular, than our mountain West.

It requires no effort of imagination to contemplate, a few generations hence, our country as a land of from two hundred to three hundred million people, with a third of them happily planted in this area.

We have come to the time when the problem of our Far West is one of wisely directed development, rather than of too much conservation, or, perhaps, to put the thought more accurately, the bringing about of a degree and character of development which will constitute the wise form of conservation. One cannot go on saving all of nature's bounty and be fair to the generation of today. I do not mean that the time has come to break recklessly into our treasure house and squander its contents; but I do decidedly mean that we can not longer delay encouragement and assistance to rational, natural and becoming development. We must have that far-western awakening which shall prove an effective corrective of the concentration of population and the regional specialization of industry which has been repeatedly called to our attention and has inclined to make of us a sectional America.

Conservation Necessary

Conservation, it must always be kept in mind, does not consist in locking up the treasure house of our natural resources. That would be the most objectionable form of waste. Conservation, in its truest sense, consists in the judicious use of the resources which are ours. The conservation policy in its application to coal is not the same as in its application to the forest. Coal, once it is taken from the earth, can never be replaced; the forests, by proper care and attention, may be made to yield a never-ending return. The conservation policy, as applied to rivers and streams, presents still another phase, since the tree which we leave standing in the forest, and the coal we leave lying in the mine, remain for the use of those who may come later on, while the water which flows unused to the sea is lost beyond reclaim. It is impossible, by the utmost utilization of our flowing waters, to affect to the extent of a single drop, the automatic and eternal replenishment at the source. Emphatically, therefore, in the case of our water power resources, there is not even a seeming paradox in saying that the more we use the more do we save.

No Monopoly

The only problem in the conservation of waters is to see to it religiously that this great inheritance of the people is not monopolized for private enrichment, and of this there can be little danger if the state—and the nation, when it has the jurisdiction—shall wisely exercise the powers of regulation which it possesses in respect to all public utilities.

In a somewhat different manner, the same principle will apply to our other natural resources. Emphasis must be placed upon their use rather than upon their storage, only it must be a use which, while provid-

ing for the present needs, must keep an ever watchful guard upon their preservation for the need of generations yet to come.

Vision of Roosevelt

Theodore Roosevelt had a clear vision of the vast possibilities of our West. In a chapter of his autobiography devoted to "Natural Resources of the Nation," he says: "The first work I took up when I became president was the work of reclamation." In his view, reclamation, conservation and proper utilization, were all parts of the same program. That must be our view today. "It is better for the government to help a poor man to make a living for his family, than to help a rich man to make more profit for his company," declared President Roosevelt. This he laid down as one of the principles upon which he based his policy toward public land areas. The principle is particularly sound today. We have need to make these areas the seat of millions of new American families, just as we broke up our prairies and distributed them among strong, enterprising, vigorous men who developed them into the great states of the Mississippi Valley.

Homes for the People

We must make our mountain West a country of homes for people who need homes. It has everything that they will need. It can provide them with food, with the materials for industry, with lumber from its forests, with metals and minerals from its mines, with power from its streams, and waters for the irrigation of its land. And the work must be so done that it will inure most to the advantage of society and the development of the independent, self-sustaining family unit in our citizenship. There must be proper co-operation and direction in this development, but there must be all care to prevent monopolization of resources and opportunities.

It has been intimated by some who take, I feel, the narrow view, that the industry of the East, and the agriculture of the Middle West and South, will not view favorably the proposal to develop new industry and new agriculture in the mountain country to compete with them. I confess to very little sympathy with this attitude. The sons of New York and New England built the great states of the Ohio valley; and the sons of the Ohio valley reared the splendid commonwealths beyond the Mississippi. The sons of every generation, in our country, have been the pioneers of some new land.

Miracle of Development

Well do I remember the covered-wagon days of the early seventies, when the resolute sons of Ohio took up the westward journey. They had little more of valued possession than unalterable determination to start afresh and be participants in the development of the wonderful land

awaiting their coming. They wrought their full part in the miracle of development and gave an added glow to the westward march of the star of empire. Many who went were those who had found new soul of citizenship in the preservation of union and nationality; and it is not impossible that thousands of those who battled to maintain American rights in the world will be eager to participate in the development of the wonderland we are considering today. We owe to them the fullest and widest opportunities, and we owe it to them to give of government encouragement and aid in bringing about the development so much to be desired. For them and for America inestimable possibilities are in store.

Today we are informed on the basis of statistics that if the demands of a rapidly-increasing population are to be met, new farms must be opened at the rate of 100,000 annually. The sad fact is that only half that number are being added to our equipment for production every year. The United States has changed, from a basically agricultural to an agricultural and industrial nation. The 1920 statistics, we are told, will show that our population is preponderantly urban. More foodstuffs must be had; farms now operating will not supply present demands. The one solution is to bring more land into production.

Reclamation, as I have viewed it, means a good deal more than merely putting water on arid land. There are regions in which it means draining the water away from swamps. There are other regions in which it means restoring forests that have been thoughtlessly destroyed. There are still others in which it means frank recognition of the fact that forests have gone forever, that stumps of cut-over lands must be removed and the soil utilized for agriculture.

Nobody Wants Isolation

Nobody wants isolated communities of agricultural producers in remote reclaimed valleys, to produce things for which there is no available market. There have been some instances of this sort. But with better transportation, with encouragement to wide and varied development, the problem of markets will solve itself rapidly enough.

In dealing with our public lands hereafter we are not to be too profligate in the disposal of their resources. There has been profligacy practiced in the past, though I take it that some of it was entirely justifiable, but there must be no further doling out of our natural resources to favored groups. We have passed the stage when there must be exceptional bidding for pioneer development. It was against profligacy that Roosevelt raised his voice and exercised the veto power. He started the great reclamation movement and it came none too soon. Doubtless he had in mind the time when these resources must be opened for free, full and independent development. Undoubtedly, if he were alive today, he

would be a cordial sympathizer with the same policy of development combined with a rational policy of conservation of resources for Americans yet to come, all of which is consonant with square dealing with all Americans engaged in the fulfillment of our obligations of today.

Forward Looking Program

It is all a forward-looking program with an ever mindfulness of the passing day. The great change in our whole economic situation, and the realization that our opportunities of providing for increased population have a definite limit, must enforce this view. Roosevelt performed a great service to the nation, and what he did for his time we must carry forward to the future. I would not have the West return to the era of speculative operations, tending to monopolies. I want to see, as he did, a development of our public land country which will insure the utmost equality of privilege and opportunity.

Best Serve the Nation

In some places private capital, in others public funds can best do the work that is required. I have no particular preference for either program, except that I would like to see in each instance the policy that will on the whole best serve the national purpose. I would not hesitate to employ federal credit for certain types of reclamation work, and on the other side I would not stand in the way of having that work done by private enterprise, if this seemed best.

Western states desirous of co-operating with the federal government in reclamation contemplate enactment of uniform laws to aid in financing reclamation work in conjunction with the federal plan of impounding waters. Lack of unified effort and policy has been a misfortune in the past, and the time has come for a fixed and comprehensive program.

What is really needed is the completion of the reclamation program which began under Republican administration, which has been neglected since 1913. We ought to go on with a larger and more liberal plan, made practical in the light of our experience.

In broadest contemplation, we must keep in mind the thing which inspires all of our activities. I have an abiding conviction that American nationality has been the inspiration from the beginning. We found that inspiration renewed and magnified when we made sure of indissoluble union and started afresh for the supreme American fulfillment. The impelling thought now is to go on as Americans, free and independent and self-reliant, to make the United States a great Republic, unafraid and confident of its future and rejoicing in American accomplishment.

A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING
TO DELEGATION OF CHICAGO SCHOOL
TEACHERS, MARION, OHIO,
SEPTEMBER 2, 1920

Gentlemen of the Committee:—Your visit to me today is one which I most heartily welcome because it suggests an appeal to the sympathy and concern of every American. You represent the great army of teachers of this country—those patient soldiers in the cause of humanity upon whom rests one of the most profound responsibilities given to any men or women.

And yet, the disadvantages that beset your profession indicate a serious menace to our national institutions. It is indeed a crisis in American education that confronts us. If we continue to allow our public instructors to struggle with beggarly wages we shall find ourselves with closed schools; our education will languish and fail. It is a patent fact that never have our teachers, as a whole, been properly compensated. From the days when the country teachers "boarded around" to the present hour the profession has never been adequately compensated. Requiring, as it does, a high degree of mental equipment, a long preparation, severe examination tests, the maintenance of a proper state in society, and giving employment only a part of the year, with compensation too meager, the wonder of it is that we have had the service of these devoted persons employed in educating our youth.

I have a personal recollection of the old-time estimate of school teaching, because I taught one session of district school. For the autumn months I received \$20.00 per month, for the winter double the price, not that I taught better or more, but probably because I builded the fires and had more sweeping to do. But then, and earlier, teaching was not a life profession, but rather a resort to youth's temporary earnings, to help prepare for something else. Today teaching is a life work, a great profession, a life offering on the altar of American advancement.

Education is recognized in our organic law, but it did not need that declaration. America's greatness, her liberty, and her happiness are founded upon her intelligence. They are founded upon that wide dissemination of knowledge which comes only to the many through our educational system.

This subject touches every individual in America. All of us are concerned in our common schools. We ought to be as interested in our teacher's pay as we are in our own. We can't be confident of our schools

unless we are confident of our teachers and know they are the best that a great work may command.

Whatever the cause may be for failure to recognize the value of the teacher, measured in wages, it is a lamentable fact that the teacher has done his or her patient service improperly rewarded through all the years. The burdens of the teachers have increased, greater exactions as to fitness have been imposed, the cost of living has gone up, but we have failed to meet the change.

We have now reached a crisis, when it is imperative that something must be done. I know with what difficulty our public schools have been operated during the past two or three years. Teachers have left the schools for more promising employments and their places have been left unfilled with new enlistments. This is a condition not only fatal if continued, but it reflects discredit upon every citizen who has not demanded correction of the evil. We make drafts upon our public treasuries, we are taxed, sometimes unnecessarily, for almost every other conceivable purpose. Let us support adequately the standards of our schools. Let all Americans recognize the necessity and determine upon relief. When the facts are known, America and Americans will respond.

It is fair to say that the federal government is not responsible and cannot assume to trespass, but it can give of its influence, it can point out the peril which ought to be clearly evident to every community, it can emphasize the present crisis and make an unflinching call for the educational preparedness for citizenship which is so essential to our continued triumphs.

It is a rather curious indication of the trend toward federal control that at this very moment not less than four or five new cabinet offices are being proposed—and not without argument, let me say. Some feel there should be a reorganization of the Department of the Interior,—they want to create this and that—and not without reason, too, because it has become a tremendous government within itself. There is one call for a department of engineering—another for a department of health, and thus I might run on. I am not a mirror (?) of human intelligence, and cannot pretend to say to you today what ought to be done in each instance, but I can say to you that I am concerned just as deeply as you are respecting this question of bringing American education up to the very highest standard.

I am not a student of the Smith-Towner Bill to which you have alluded, and I could not be so unfair as glibly to pledge to you any specific action this morning. You would not believe in me if I did, but I do pledge you the most sympathetic concern, and a determination if responsibility comes upon me, to call the attention of the Congress to the

impending crisis in American education, and to urge the best thought of the country to its early solution.

A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING TO REPRESENTATIVES OF CHICAGO NA- TIONAL LEAGUE BASEBALL CLUB, SEPTEMBER 2, 1920

I pay to you my tribute to baseball, because I like the game, just like every other real American. It has been in the blood for over a half century, and it has helped us as a people. Of course, there has been a vast improvement since the early game, but I am sure it is not reactionary to remind you that you still try to hit them out and the big thing is to reach the home plate. There are progressive ideas, but it rejoices the average crowd of rooters to note an old-fashioned Tinker-to-Evers-to-Chance.

I like the tension of a tight game. I like to see the balls go over the plate, and see decisions follow. I admire the skill of the pitcher, but I like to see the ball hit. I like the rooters. It is great to be a rooter. It is fine to see him recognizing a great play, but I like his partisanship, his zeal for the home team, his eagerness to help win. There is soul in his interest and he works as hard as the players. That is the explanation of baseball popularity. We are all partisans of some team. I am sure I rejoiced as much as Garry Hermann when the Reds copped last year. It adds to the absorbing spirit to be an enthusiastic partisan. I never saw a game without taking sides, and never want to see one. There is the soul of the game. I feel the same way in big national matters. I like to think of America first. I want our country to float the championship pennant in the contest for human achievement.

You can't win ball games with a one-man team. Games are won by good pitching, good catching, good fielding, good defense and good offense, hitting them out and team work. I like a pitcher who puts the ball over and trusts his fielders to play their stations. I like a team that knows its signals, and I salute the player who ignores the individual record and goes out to win the game.

No one man can win a pennant. It can't be done in baseball or in the conduct of government. From either viewpoint the game is too big and too fast, and too many rooters concerned.

Maybe it is old-fashioned, but I am for team play. This harmony of endeavor, where every man plays his part, no matter who is starring, is what wins in baseball and will win victories for these United States.

I am opposing the one-man play for the nation. Too much fanning out, too much unpreparedness, for war or for peace. Nobody has confidence in a ball team which is untrained. National unpreparedness for war cost us many precious lives and endless billions in waste, and unpreparedness for peace is costing billions more and holding us in anxiety and uncertainty.

It is my observation that the National team, now playing for the United States, played loosely and muffed disappointingly in our domestic affairs, and then struck out at Paris. No one can dispute the American team played badly when it got on a foreign field.

As a spokesman for the Republican Party I am urging team play in government, on the home grounds, with all the home fans behind us, and team play when we represent America in the all-the-world series. There are too many men batting above three hundred to rely on one hitter.

And I am advocating something more—play according to the rules. It is the only fair way, because the rules apply to all players precisely alike. The rules in the supreme American game are in the federal constitution, and the umpire is the American people. Stick to the rules, hold fast to the constitution, and we can be sure we are right.

There was a meeting of league officials where they sought to change the rules. In the parlance of the game, the contending team tried a squeeze play, and expected to score—six to one against the United States. But the American Senate was ready with the ball at the plate, and we are still flying our pennant which we won at home and hold respected throughout the world.

Hail to the team play of America! Hail to a hundred millions of American rooters, the citizenship of the Republic, who expect Uncle Sam to put them over or bat them out as the situation requires, and counts upon team play in government, team play in citizenship and everybody interested in America first.

**A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING
TO VETERANS OF WORLD WAR, MT.
GILEAD, OHIO, SEPTEMBER 3, 1920**

If it had not been for the United States Senate exercising its constitutional functions without regard to party lines and in full devotion to duty, in my honest judgment America would again be at war, instead of dwelling in the peace we now enjoy. I warn you that if you accept the League of Nations pact as originally drafted we will be committed in all honor to go to the help of European nations.

I believe that every American should do everything he can to show his gratitude to the young men who went out to defend our country in the World War. I want to show my gratitude in helping America to do its part to see that neither they, their sons, nor their sons' sons shall ever be called to the battle front again. If I speak the conscience of America, we will lead the world to outlaw war, and I am not uttering the sentiments of a pacifist people.

No nations are isolated any longer. I think this new relationship ought to be turned into a relationship among nations of fellowship, of concord and of peace. If it should be my good fortune to be called to authority, everything possible will be done to bring the world into co-operation, but without a single thing being done to surrender the independence and freedom of our country.

**A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING
TO THE NATIONAL FARM BOARD OF FARM
ORGANIZATIONS, MARION, OHIO,
FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1920**

With your assent, I will not welcome you as representatives of farmers' organizations and I shall make no appeal, either now or later, to the people of the country which may be labeled an appeal in behalf of farmers.

Permit me therefore to welcome you as Americans, permit me to welcome you as producers whose Americanism is so sound that I may and do consider that you represent here today the consumers of the United States, and I address you not as farmers but as patriotic citizens of the United States. Every word that I say to you is addressed not to your welfare alone, but to the welfare of every man, woman and child, and to the welfare of the future citizens of our country.

I deplore the use in political campaigns or in public administration of special appeals and of special interests. I deplore any foreign policy which tends to group together those of foreign blood in groups of their nativity. I deplore undue meddling in the affairs of other nations, which may, some day in a future election, result in a hyphenated vote controlling the balance of power which may be delivered to that candidate who is most supine in the face of un-American pressure. I deplore class appeals at home. I deplore the soviet idea, and the compromises and encouragements which we have seen extended to it.

Long ago, when the responsibility for leadership in this fight we are making, to put America back onto the main road, was placed upon me, I said to myself that we must all unite under the slogan "America First." When I say America First I mean not only that America maintain her own independence and shall be first in fulfilling her obligations to the world, by deeds rather than words, and by example rather than preaching, but I mean that at home any special interest, any class, any group of our citizenship that has arrayed itself against the interests of all, must learn that at home, as well as abroad, America First has a meaning, profound, and with God's aid, everlasting.

Fortunately for this meeting, as we stand face to face, it is true that you, representing in part the farmers of this country, and I, are charged with an obligation of program and definite action that fosters the welfare of all America, the welfare of the man who lives in the house with the red barn and the productive fields behind it, and also the welfare of the man

who, in a crowded industrial city, comes home at nightfall to climb the stairs to his fourth-floor home, behind the fire escapes, with hunger in his body.

I desire with all my heart to speak for the consumer when I speak of American agriculture. I desire to put aside platitudes about the worth and merits of all the poetic tradition about the honest farmer. Honesty is not peculiar to any occupation. I desire to awake the country to the menaces to its future unless American agriculture is preserved, and above all, I desire that I may have a hand in stopping bungling and economic nonsense and false promises and prodigal waste and dictatorial powers, all of which have smothered the farmer, as they have smothered us all, for eight years in taxes and interferences. Instead of unworkable words and over-worked executive powers I desire, in this great agricultural problem as in all our national problems, to go back to the functions of our Republic and of our representative system. I want to restore the will of the people and stop the will of the wilful. And, under the restoration, I desire to deal with all our great problems, not in the twilight of generalities, but in the full sunlight of definition and forward marching.

With the agriculture of the United States—the basic industry—I am deeply concerned. If history does not deceive us by unchanging repetitions of her precepts, a nation lives no longer than her agricultural health abides. It is the soil that is our mother, and the mother of nations; it is land hunger that founds revolutions, anarchy and decay. We must look our land problems and farming situation squarely in the face and act bravely and wisely and promptly. In doing so, you and I, a candidate for responsibility, must turn to the consumers of the United States and say, "This is your problem and your posterity's problem as well as ours."

I cannot say to you today all that I shall say during the campaign, to the consumers of the United States about the agricultural needs of America. But I shall say to them, as I now say to you, the day of land hunger has come. The day when we see before us the spectacle of the land-owning farmer being displaced by capitalistic speculation in land and the soil-exhausting and landlord-exploited tenant farmer has come. The day when the share of the American farmer in whatever is left of prosperity has been overtopped by the share taken by our industrial production, has come. The day when industry outbids agriculture for labor has come. The day when the profit of the farmer has been cut down and the price to the consumer has been lifted up, has come. The day when bad and wasteful distribution between producer and consumer, and the day of too much unrighteous profiteering, by too many unnecessary middlemen, has come. The day when production of our soil must be protected against the soil products of countries of low standards of living, has come.

These conditions call for wise action on the part of government. They call for good counsel. They call for the presence of the American farmer in our government offices, administrative and representative. They call for extension of the farm loan principle, not only in the case of the man who already owns a farm, but to worthy Americans who want to acquire farms. In other words, they call for capital available to the farmers of America as a bulwark against the exploits of capital available to the land speculator.

Furthermore, these conditions call for a willingness of all Americans to act together in restoring to American agriculture a prosperity that will keep the land owner and land worker upon our soil. We must obliterate the picture of this year 1920, when we have allowed the labor of the farm-wife and young girls and old women to be the substitute for normal farm labor. The women have helped to guarantee to consumers of the United States and dependent nations their full food supply, and though it is a monument to them we must find ways to restore a more normal and a more American labor supply to our farms.

I shall soon set forth at greater length the proposals in mind to remedy these conditions. On this occasion, however, I lay stress upon one—**co-operation.**

I believe that the American people, through their government and otherwise, not only in behalf of the farmer but in behalf of their own welfare, and the pocketbooks of the consumers of America, will encourage, make lawful, and stimulate co-operative buying, co-operative distribution and co-operative selling of farm products.

Industry has been organized; labor has been organized; co-operation within industry and within labor, and indeed, co-operation between the two, is far advanced. I do not contemplate the organization of the farmers and consumers of this country as a step toward organization of special interests to obtain special favors. If I did, I would oppose it. But I know full well that we must, all of us consumers—the laborers, the business men, the teachers, the children, the rich and the poor, the young and the old, the men and the women, act together to find our way closer and easier and cheaper to the sources of our food supply. And I know full well that the farmers must work together to find their way, by better transportation, better marketing and organized co-operative effort, closer to the consumers of America.

If these two—producers and consumers of food—are not brought closer together by organization, by better railroad service, by the auxiliary of motor truck facilities, by better roads, by the removal of legal obstructions to organized effort, I know that organized profiteering will squeeze in somewhere between the producer and the consumer.

I do not speak in a sentimental generality when I say this. I hope I am saying something to point the way, not only to a fair and just prosperity to American agriculture which will tend to stop land speculation and the increase of the tenant farmer, but will be one big, practical step taken against the high cost of living. It will be taken in the name of no class but in the name of the people of America.

A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING TO REPRESENTATIVES OF GREAT LAKES BAND, MARION, OHIO, SEPTEMBER 4, 1920

I appreciate deeply your coming here to see me. I assume that your coming is in large part due to the fact that I am a candidate for the presidency. It is because I feel more deeply about it every day that I want to tell you, American citizens, and through you, as many Americans as possible, my ideas of the responsibilities of a candidate for the highest office the people can bestow. The first of these responsibilities I have borne in mind and I will continue to preserve it. It arises from the fact that my duty as a candidate, before election, compels me to put higher even than obligation to a great and wise and growing political party, my obligations to all Americans.

I have said to myself, you owe it to the citizens of America to preserve the attitude and the mind of one who serves as well as he can.

Against All Pretense

As I see it, I owe it to the men and women of America to guard against all pretense.

As I see it, I owe it to them to state fully and clearly my beliefs with all the sincerity there is in me.

As I see it, I must not, as I seek to gain votes for my party, yield to the temptation which often comes to men who are candidates, to make false appeals and appeals which, though they might be successful at the moment, do not serve truth or do not meet the requirements of our national dignity.

As I see it, I must not drag the attention of the American people into the mire when it is their whole-hearted desire that their attention should be centered upon the problems which we all wish to face bravely and wisely and together.

As I see it, I must concentrate my attention upon construction and not upon abuse.

As I see it, I must be patient and tolerant with those Americans who differ with me.

Voice of People

As I see it, I must assume an attitude which is firm, but is ever listening to the voice of the people and ever watchful to preserve our constitutional rights to representative government, rather than government by propaganda and executive powers.

Every citizen must realize that America wants deeds rather than words and that the proper solution of pressing problems is more important than appeal for momentary favor.

As I see it, I must remember, as I have remembered today, to address myself to the whole of the American people and to keep close to my heart as well as to my head, the interest of the whole of the American people.

As I see it, if I were to stoop to insincerity, to mere clamor, to political expediency, to appeals to special classes, I would be failing in that purpose which I trust shall always be mine, not my own interest, not even the interest of my party first, but America first.

A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING DELIVERED LABOR DAY, MONDAY SEP- TEMBER 6, AT MARION, OHIO

Ladies and Gentlemen, My Countrymen All:—Life is Labor, or labor is life, whichever is preferred. Men speak of the labor issue as paramount or imperious or critical—it is always the big thing, because it is the process of all progress and attainment, and has been since the world began. The advocate of excessively-reduced periods of labor simply proposes to slow down human attainment, because labor is the agency of all attainment. If by some miracle of agreement we could reduce the hours of labor to four per day—I speak of labor now in the sense of that which is employed for pay—the live, progressive, civilization-creating, progressive labor would have to go on working twice or thrice that time, because labor is the ferment of human development. No one will challenge these general truths, but we do have a conflict of opinion as to how labor shall be employed and the measure of its compensation.

It is impossible for me to ignore the fact that I am the candidate of a great party for a place of high responsibility, but I choose to make such utterances as are in my mind on this always-significant holiday, because I preferred to talk before my fellow-townsmen with whom I have worked so many years.

Have to be Square

Neighbors have to be on the square with one another and see that deeds accord with words. Somehow I wanted to look you in the face and ask for the sponsor for that miserable old falsehood about a dollar a day being enough for any workingman. If the author was seeking to apply it to me, I think he must have meant a dollar an hour. You see, I have been a dweller among you for thirty-eight years. Part of that time I was a wage-earner myself—all the time I have been a laborer—and for more than thirty years I have been an employer as well as laborer, and a man can't preach one doctrine and practice another.

I am particularly glad, Mr. Hutchinson, national head of Carpenters and Joiners, is here today, not because he could testify to my friendly endeavor when it was timely to prove friendship, but because Labor day was originated in the mind of P. J. McGuire, the father of that union, and a long time its secretary. McGuire gave us the holiday which Congress later legalized, and McGuire gave an effective life to Labor's advancement, and we gladly render him our homage on this fortieth Labor day.

Not Unseemly

It will not be unseemly if I say to you today what I said to a large and general assemblage of my countrymen on the occasion of my official notification. I wish it distinctly noted that I shall say nothing to one group of fellow citizens which I could not as cordially utter to another. It was my good fortune, a few days ago, to have a call from a committee representing several American farm organizations, and I told them frankly I preferred to greet them as fellow-Americans rather than farmers, because our big thought must be of American consumers, they among them. They were concerned in producing food, which is of first concern to all America. And while I address you as a typical assemblage of American laborers, I am thinking of industrial America, that industrial America in which every one of our hundred millions is deeply concerned, and the good fortune of whose workers is of highest interest to our people as a whole.

No Party Indifferent

Do not let anyone ever tell you that any political party is insensible to the cause of labor. Parties are the agencies of government, and men who assume public responsibility are deeply anxious about the common weal. Demagogue or agitator, most of whom are agitating for the profit therein, "Red" or reactionary, all of them belie the high intent and genuine concern of parties and government for the highest good fortunes of all the people. Frankly, I do not think any party is indifferent or unmindful. The only difference is in the program for the greatest

good. I want you to understand me definitely. So far as I can be helpful, it shall be along the line of promoting the good fortunes of all the American people, because in common good fortune, made secure, we have the field in which to work to adjust the distribution of rewards to the highest conception of fairness and justice.

Never Back to Old Order

Let me renew that public utterance which I meant to repeat. Noting the advanced ground reached through the sufferings and sacrifices of the World War, I said we contemplated a new level, a new order, and would never return to the old pre-war conditions. No such return has ever been recorded in all history. I spoke of high wages, and said I wished the existing high scale to remain, on one explicit condition—that for the high wage, the American workman shall give to his task the highest degree of efficiency. There isn't any other solution. There isn't any other way to keep wages high and lower the cost of living to any appreciable degree.

The menace of the present day is inefficient production. I am not advocating the driving, slavish period of toil, which saps men's energies and oppresses the spirit, but I do advocate honest, efficient return for proper pay. I hold that the slacker, the loafer on the job, is not only the greatest obstacle to labor's advancement, but he is cheating his fellows more than he does his employer. The workman who deliberately adds to costs robs a fellow-workman who must buy, and impedes the way to that ideal condition where wage exceeds the cost of living, and there is a balance for the bank account, for home acquirement and indulgence in amusement, diversion and the becoming luxuries which contribute to the ideal life.

Let No One Beguile You

Let no one beguile you with dreams of idleness, of the passing of employment, or the abolition of employer and employee. Life without toil, if possible, would be an intolerable existence. Work is the supreme engagement, the sublime luxury of life. And there will be employers so long as there is leadership among men, and there will be employees until human progress is paralyzed and the development of human kind dies on one common altar of mediocrity. Our problem then is to find the high order of employment, the ideal relationship, the conditions under which we may work to the highest attainment and the greatest common good for all concerned.

It is utterly false to assume that labor and capital are in deadly conflict. Such a preachment comes from those who would destroy our social system. More, these two elements do not constitute alone the fabric of our industrial life, and neither of them, alone, ever added to the treasure

of mankind. The element of management is as essential to present-day industrial success, amid modern complexities, as breath to the human body. And indissolubly linked with these three is the consuming public.

Each Essential to Other

It is not important to establish which element comes first, since each is essential to the other. We do know that labor, the human element, is of deepest public concern. Hence it is that American public opinion, which is invariably the ruling force in popular government, when deliberately crystallized, wishes the labor forces to be satisfied. Not contented, because contentment is the awaiting avenue to paralysis, but so satisfied that there is a soul of interest in all our employments.

The deplorable side of modern industry, with gigantic factory and the productive machinery, is that too many men are toiling like machines at work. There ought to be more in a day's work than the mere grind and the pay therefor, even though the pay is generous. Men ought to know a pride in the thing done. There ought to be inspiration to skill and glory in accomplishment. One ought to have before him the goal of being best, in his line. The mere fulfillment of the requirements to hold a job never made a superintendent or reached a captaincy in all the world of employment. Contentment with a job, with eyes riveted on pay day, without enthusiasm to accomplish or a desire to excel, never made an advance for any man anywhere.

The Big Inspiration

The big inspiration in life is to get on. We can not get on all alike or be rewarded precisely alike. God Almighty never intended it to be so, else He had made us all alike. But we may get on according to our talent, our capacity, and our industry, and out of the advancement of those who lead, must come higher standards for all.

I have no patience for those who commend the levels of mediocrity. That would halt the whole human procession. As I look into your faces, I can read the aspirations in many a breast. Search the hearts of the parenthood in this assemblage. Fathers and mothers are thinking of their children, and they want them to get on. They often deny themselves to educate their children and ultimately find compensation in that denial. They educate so that sons and daughters may do better than they—it is the natural desire of aspiring life. This is why the world advances. This is the soul of advancing civilization. When men tell you this is the privilege of the few, they challenge your intelligence. It is the opportunity of all. Not all avail themselves, but the opportunity beckons.

What's the Explanation?

I have seen this city grow from the village of four thousand to the

city of thirty thousand. I know the men who are the captains of industry and the commanders of trade and the leaders of finance. I have associated with the head of one great concern when he was toiling for seventy-five cents a day as a youth in the shops. I have seen another at the bench, and still another when trying to make the pay envelope meet his obligations. I know one bank leader as the boy who swept out and did the chores, another as a dollarless farmer boy, another as a struggling youth no more favored than the poorest boy. What's the explanation? Industry, thrift, love of work, interest in their tasks, ambition to get on.

I wish I could plant the gospel of loyalty to work and interest in accomplishment. It is the ambition to succeed, the determination to do the most and best—these speed men on to the heights. The pity is that we do not have enough of it under modern conditions. There is too much mechanical grind, too little contact between employer and employe, too little understanding of their mutuality of interest and their joint triumph in success. I hail with equal satisfaction the workman who has pride in the factory and its output, and the employer who has pride and sympathetic interest in his workmen. I want to stress the need of pride. There is little enough to inspire under our modern system, and I want to magnify all there is. And above all else I want American workmen to feel that American products are the best in the world. There is only a touch of satisfaction to say our output is biggest, but it sets the heart aglow to proclaim America's output is the best.

Sorry for Its Passing

I am sorry the old, intimate contact between employer and employe is gone. When there was intimate touch there was little or rare misunderstanding. I wish we could have the intimacy restored, not in the old way, but through a joint committee of employers and employes, not to run the business, but to promote and maintain the mutuality of interest and the fullest understanding. Herein lies the surest remedy for most of our ills. Nay, more, I will! put it more strongly, I have spoken the preventive—the understanding which prevents disputes, or settles them on the spot.

I never had any trouble with our labor forces in the printing line, though our "boys and girls" have been organized for seventeen years. We know each other pretty well. And yet, with all our intimacy and our freedom from disputes, I may not understand them as I ought, nor do they understand all they ought. Let me give you an example, because it will illustrate the need of understanding. The basic material, the one thing we must have in the newspaper business is print paper. There has been a shortage of production and the market has been wild. We contract our annual supply, but we could not add the amount necessary to meet

our normal growth. To meet the volume of business and keep all our men employed we had to buy extra print paper as best as we could, and the excess above the contract cost was sufficient to pay out \$300 additional wage to every workman in the shop. But we were obliged to meet so excessive an outlay, and could not pass it on to readers, yet no workman had to bear any share of the strain. Never forget that there are two sides, and I want each to understand the other. I want employers to know what is in the hearts of the workmen—their aspirations, their trials, their problems—all the things essential to concord and good spirit.

Business of Its Own

To be specific, the need of today is the extension by employers of the principle that each job in the big plant is a little business of its own. The reason men in modern, specialized industry go crazy from lack of self-expression is that they are allowed to be mere mechanical motion-makers. They ought to be taught by employers the significance of this job—its unit costs, its relations to other operations, the ways to its greater efficiency. In a word, the employer owes it to his men to make them feel that each job is a little business of its own. In this way, as some one has said, the job stops being an enemy of the man and becomes his associate and friend, and the success achieved opens the way for his looked-for advancement.

The world is thinking about means to prevent war among nations, and we approve, and share the aspiration. But America is also thinking about preventing industrial conflict, and all attending waste, suffering and anxiety. The matter has become of interest to the public, even more than the forces engaged in any conflict.

Why Not About Table First

Our observation is, as an eminent labor leader has said, that "all strikes sooner or later are settled around a table; then why not get around a table before the strike begins?"

We can not have compulsory arbitration, because all parties must consent to establish arbitration and enforce its conclusions. I think we can have and ought to have, volitional arbitration. The best thought of the day commends this way to settlement.

In the broad sense labor's business is selling its skilled or unskilled endeavor, and the basic cost is the cost of living. What labor receives over and above cost of living is pay for its preparation, and a profit for its inspiration.

Insistent Thought of the Day

The insistent thought of the day is to add to this profit, to widen the difference between mere cost and the wage received. All the influence and the organization in the world will not equalize a living cost among

a hundred millions. Rentals, until home-owning becomes more widespread—as I hope it will become widespread—vary according to localities and conditions. The wage scale which contemplates a rental cost in one place might be wholly inadequate to meet the cost in another, and a nationalized scale would work an injustice. This point was developed in the recent railway controversies, and proved some very real grievances which the people had not dreamed.

This brings me to the subject of railway legislation, and the enactment of the Cummins-Esch bill restoring the railways to the lawful owners. We owed it to the railway owners to restore their property, seized for war service, just as we owe the return of the people's money invested in government loans. In free and thoughtful America we do not take advantage of war's tumult to change the regular order of things. I am well aware that many earnest railway workers and advocates of the Socialist plan preferred to take the railroads and put them under the operation of the employes, but that was not keeping faith with America or American promises. We were honor bound to make the return. I favored it for the additional reason that I do not believe in government ownership.

Government's Hands Full

The government must do many things, but it has enough to do without invading the field of private activity, not, at any rate, until government demonstrates its capacity for efficiency.

I do not pretend to say the railway act is perfect, indeed, I know it is not. But Congress was dealing with a problem of first importance, and it had to speed the legislation. There was the conflict of many minds as it was right there should be, and the final act was a compromise. Nevertheless, I believe it to be a good law, and, cordially supported it. Many railway labor leaders have cried out against it, but I can only wonder why, except for the fundamental objections to the release of government operation.

It does not guarantee dividends, it limits them. It did make a six months' guarantee, but that was to enable the stupendous financing for rehabilitation. There was no ample upkeep during the war, and the public is suffering today from railway inadequacy.

The government has held a commission control over financing, rate-making and all that concerns the shipping public, and has made working conditions and wages matters of concern to government itself. Railway workers are made a preferred class, and government has singled out railway workers to see that their just treatment is a matter of public pledge. This is progress.

An Inalienable Right

This law does not contain an anti-strike clause. You can not take away from any man the right to quit his employment, but it does aim at the prompt, instant grant of justice, full justice; and justice, men, is the best guarantee of all civilization. It does not interfere with collective bargaining; on the contrary it facilitates it. More, the brief experience already had, proves that Congress has provided the way to immediate hearing of the grievances of railway workmen and prompt compliance with their just demands. No labor in the world today is so fortunately situated as that on the American railroads.

Let us try out the act and the railway restoration in patience. If we have fallen short, the conscience of America will sanction every modification needed to aim at perfection. America wants her railway workmen justly treated, and will tolerate nothing less, and America wants her honest investments properly protected, with justice to every agency employed in this great machine of railway transportation.

I have said it before, and I repeat it now, I want the American railway workers to know the best possible working conditions and to be the best paid in the world. Our food, our activities, our exchanges, so much depends on the great railway operations, and above all else, all who travel trust their lives to railway skill and fidelity. It ought to be, and must be, the best in the world.

The Protective Policy

I said parties were always concerned with the welfare of labor. The Republican Party had its birth to free the slave labor of America. Instantly it turned to insuring conditions to afford the abundance of employment.

I believe in the protective policy which prospers America first, and exalts American standards of wage and American standards of living high above the Old World. We have little thought of these things during the war, because America was exporting instead of importing—shipping out instead of shipping in—but it will soon be a different situation in the world exchange. I do not object to humanity seeking equalized standards of employment and living, but I do insist in Old World standards being raised to ours, not ours lowered to the Old World.

Our enormous balances of trade with foreign nations is fast receding, and peoples who seek recuperation from war's wastes and bankruptcy, are expecting to sell to us to recuperate, because our people are the ablest to buy in all the world. One must admit the promise of a cheaper cost of living if Europe's cheaper-made merchandise is brought to our markets. But note the peril to labor! If we buy abroad, we will slacken production at home, and slackened production means diminished employ-

ment, and growing idleness and all attending disappointments. I want to cheapen the cost of living as much as any one in all the land, but I do not wish it cheapened by the processes of unemployment and lowered standards of American labor.

Factory Success, Your Success

That is why I speak for my party's policy, on the one hand, and ask so earnestly for efficiency of production on the other. The latter is a practical plan of reducing cost without surrendering the high standard of wage. Pray, do not ever believe you are injuring yourself by giving full return for your employment. The call is for maximum production, and factory success is your success. Do not scale down to the inefficient and incapable, let us train up and build up to the heights of the efficient.

What is the big inspiration in life? The natural desire to excel. Why do we all applaud Babe Ruth? Because he has batted out more home runs in a season than any ball player on earth. If you were going to play ball, you wouldn't try to bat at 150 or 200, you would rather be a Babe Ruth. But men say that's different from the humdrum of toil. Well, that's why I am arguing the end of humdrum toil by striving for the heights. The workman who performs his tasks better than another has satisfaction in his soul, and he will not long escape the notice that brings him advancement.

To Reduce Living Cost

Many other things will help to reduce living cost. I want to see profiteering isolated and punished. It is a moral wrong and an economic robbery. The one who practices profiteering is false to business and to country. I do not know of a deadlier foe to our common country, because he creates the unrest that threatens from within and emphasizes the appeal to class.

Reduced cost of government will help, and we can reduce cost of government by quitting the play of politics with the nation's bread and butter. Stage assaults on profiteering, mostly dealing with petty offenders, do not deeply impress the country, and sugar agreements which add a billion to our sugar bills for a year do not indicate a know-how which entitles the bunglers to hold their jobs.

I have not come to you today with a speech of promises. I can not pledge you the impossible, and do not mean to suggest the impractical. I can only preach the gospel of understanding practically applied. I can only tell you that in life among you here, or in life of great responsibility, I am interested in your good fortunes in common with all the people. In public service, I have always been ready to hear the appeal of all Americans, and labor will find an every-ready period to be heard, not for labor alone, but for the good of all our people. We can not pros-

per one group and imperil another. We can not have, we must not have, a menacing class consciousness. When we look each other in the face, soberly contemplating the great web of American life, we see that the good of one is the fortune of all .

System All Right

Our system is all right, it is the judgment of the ages, and here in America we have wrought the supreme achievement. There are abuses, perhaps there ever will be. Greed develops and robbery breaks out amid all great processions. Our business is to strike at greed, and outlaw robbery, and correct the abuses, without destroying the temple in which we abide.

I do not think we can fabricate the perfect world, but we can, and we mean to, make it better from day to day and year to year. I do not blow you a bubble of imaginary equality of men or women, but I do proclaim equality of opportunity, proved in America and making America the best land of hope in all the world. The fair chance is here. It isn't in a particular craft, it isn't alone in the closed shop, it isn't in the offerings of the law, it isn't in the revolutionary proposals of those who threaten destruction in return for liberty's blessings. It is in honest endeavor, in thrift, in lofty aspiration, and a resolute determination to do, and to get on in the world.

Believe in Unionism

I believe in unionism, I believe in collective bargaining, I believe the two have combined to speed labor toward its just rewards. But I do not believe in labor's domination of business or government any more than I believe that capital shall dominate. We had our time at that, and we learned the danger and ended it. We do not want to substitute one class for another, we want to put an end to classes.

We live in an era of collective endeavor. Capital led the way, and labor's organization was not only natural, but necessary. It has done more than serve its membership, it has riveted the thoughtful attention of America to social justice and brought the fruits thereof.

Advancement of Labor's Cause

I hold that the advancement of labor's cause in America challenges all the world. We have made, of course, a few thousand millionaires, but we made millions of self-reliant, advancing, creative Americans. The luxury of yesterday is the accepted necessity of today. I struggled to own a motor car after I had been an employer for twenty years, and workmen nowadays drive to their tasks at thirty, without realizing the transformation. The progress is the miracle of American opportunity. I want to hold to fundamentals, strike at any developing inequality and halt assault on our system, then go on to greater things. The way is

open. Opportunity is calling, and harmonized capital and labor and management will clear the waiting paths, and individual resolution, the heritage of American freedom, will speed us on. If we only hold fast to the fundamentals, the pride of today may be a greater glory tomorrow, and ultimately we shall approach that combination of achievement and happiness for all men which is the divine plan for the triumphs of earth and life and human endeavor.

**A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING
TO CITIZENS OF HUNTINGTON, INDIANA,
DELIVERED FROM SPECIAL TRAIN
WHILE ENROUTE TO ST. PAUL,
MINN., SEPTEMBER 7, 1920**

Let me say to you, my fellow countrymen, it is a very great compliment to have you come down to greet us in passing and I very gladly return your greeting. If it were possible in our hurried schedule to stop and meet you all personally that would be an added pleasure.

I take it that you are interested alike in the welfare of our common country, but I know human nature well enough to know how natural it is to be interested in the things that specifically and more particularly concern us as individuals. And I happen to know Huntington. We are neighbors. We are linked by the Erie Railroad, and I take it that you residents of this great railroad center, with hundreds of men in the railway employment and active in the citizenship of this community, are more interested in the railway question than any other. But I would not talk to you solely as railway workers or as fellow citizens interested in the railway problem because we are interested in the good fortunes of America, and the railways of this land are the nerve lines by which we get our energies, through which we are kept in communication, by whose transportation our industries and our farms are made to prosper, by whose connections we are kept in touch with one another, and America becomes one people. And so I want to say to you all, and the railway workers particularly, that the Congress of the United States in dealing with the railway problem did the best it knew how for the good of our common country. I voted for the Esch-Cummins Bill; and I want to say to you railway workers that time is going to prove it to be the most beneficial piece of legislation for the promotion of your welfare that was ever put on the statute books of the country.

The country was facing the problem of the return of the railways to their owners, just as it ought to return to any man that which belongs to him when taken for the service of the government in war. The railways had cost the country approximately a billion dollars under government operation; they have cost almost half as much in the transition period. When we handed them back we did two fine things; but nobody ever tells about one of them. On the one hand, we guaranteed the railroads five and a half per cent earnings so that they could finance themselves. The government had allowed the properties to deteriorate until six hundred million dollars are needed this year to even half way approximate the service the country requires; and a billion dollars more in new equipment will be needed next year. But the government only guaranteed to the owners a return of five and a half per cent for the six months' transition period. What did the government do for the men at the same time? Contemplating the possible paralysis and economies, the government also guaranteed that there should be no diminution in wages during the same time.

But that is not the big thing. The big thing in the bill is that the government has written Labor's Bill of Rights, so that labor shall have instant, exact and ample justice in public service. And I tell you, men and women, that is the greatest forward step taken by any government in the world—instant, exact justice, upon which our whole civilization is founded. I hope and believe it leads the way to the ultimate solution of all industrial conflicts.

A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING
TO CITIZENS OF DEERFIELD, ILLINOIS,
WHILE ENROUTE TO MINNEAPOLIS,
MINN., SEPTEMBER 7, 1920

It is mighty nice of you to come out and greet us in this informal way. It has been a very great pleasure indeed to grasp you by the hand and know you face to face. You know that is the gospel I am preaching this year for the people of the United States, that is a better understanding of our mutuality of interest in everything done in this country.

I have been thinking today of the wonderful development of the Northwest. We take things so readily for granted that we never stop to think what made us what we are. This section of the country in its development is not yet a century old, and in this brief time we have been building this wonderful country of ours, we have been working to the perfection of a new civilization and a habitation and a condition which are the pride of all Americans. And it is a very wonderful thing to contemplate how much we have accomplished in less than a century; and when you stop to think about it, it is all worked out with patience and continued endeavor in the right direction. Nothing great is brought about by the wave of one's hand. You cannot have miracles in the development of a country, and yet in this wonderful land of ours, with the Constitution only a hundred and thirty-three years old and our Western civilization less than a century, we have outstripped every other civilization in the world. That is a tribute to American accomplishment. And when I look back upon it, I find myself asking—Why must we be so impatient with the continual working out of the processes of human advancement? It takes time and understanding and an abiding faith to do this. So I want you all to have faith in this country of ours.

I know that the heart of America is right, and I know just as sure as I am standing before you if we go on in understanding and in complete confidence, we of America are going to work out the finest destiny of any people in all the world.

In looking at this audience of my fellow countrymen, I am reminded of the thought, which has oftentimes been in my mind, that there is none to which I more delight to talk than that which can be assembled in a village community like yours. I do not tell you that because I am here; I tell you that because I grew up in a village of six hundred, and I know something of the democracy—not democratic partyism but democracy in the broad sense—I know something of the democracy, of the simpli-

city, of the confidence—aye, better yet, of the reverence for government, and the fidelity to law and its enforcement, as it exists in the small community. I do not believe that anywhere in the world there is so perfect a democracy as in the village. You know in the village we know everybody else's business. I grew up in such a community, and I have often referred to it as a fine illustration of the opportunities of American life.

There is no social strata or society requirement in the village. About everybody starts equal. And in the village where I was born the blacksmith's son and the cobbler's son and the minister's son and the storekeeper's son all had just the same chance in the opportunities of this America of ours. I wonder if it would interest you if I told you about what happened to some of the boys with whom I went to school? I like to refer to it because it is the finest proof in the world of the equality of American opportunity to the sons of this Republic. In the class when I was a boy there was Ralph. Well, Ralph was a bruiser among the boys and I would have picked him out for a prize-fighter. I looked him up. I had not seen him for thirty years, and instead of finding him a pugilistically inclined citizen, I found him at the head of the bank in the village where we grew up, as peaceful and able as any man in the community. Then there was Wheeler. If there was any boy in our crowd who started with greater advantage in money, he was the fellow. He had inherited three thousand dollars—and that was an awful amount of money in those days. But Wheeler went the wrong way, and came to failure. Then there was Frank. Frank was the village carpenter's son; but Frank today is one of the great captains of industry in Chicago, and before the World War advanced salaries and compensation, he was getting \$25,000 a year. A Village Boy! Then there was Ed, the cobbler's son. He wanted to be a geologist. He had once heard a geologist lecture. So he started to study geology, and in order to study to more advantage, because his father was not able to send him to college he became a Pullman car conductor, to study as he worked. What do you think became of Ed, aspiring to become a geologist? Ed turned out to be a preacher and he is a great preacher this day. And so I might run on—but I must tell you about another one. Let us say that his name was Charlie. He was the local grocer's son. Well, you would not have thought he had any special advantage but his father loved him and sent him to college. He is one of the great lawyers of Ohio today and he measures his wealth in large figures and he never cheated anybody out of a cent. Then there was, let us say, Henry. Henry was the brightest boy of the class. The teacher always pointed him out as the pride of the school. He was the one to whom we always had to look as an example of youthful brilliancy in the village. We were all envious of him. What do you suppose became of

this brightest luminary of them all? I found him in a village, the janitor of his lodge, and in spite of his less important achievements he was the happiest one of the lot. This brings to mind a little bit of homely philosophy. What is the greatest thing in life, my countrymen? Happiness. And there is more happiness in the American village than any other place on the face of the earth.

So I like to talk to you, my countrymen, and preach the gospel of understanding in America, the utter abolition of class and every thought of it; the maintenance of American institutions, the things we have inherited, and above all else continued freedom for the United States of America, without dictation or direction from anybody else in all the world.

SPEECH OF ACCEPTANCE BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING UPON BEING PRESENTED WITH PAINTING ENTITLED "THE RIVER," AT ARTS BUILDING, MINNESOTA STATE FAIR, SEPTEMBER 8, 1920

Mr. Roe, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am very happy to accept this most pleasant gift, and since it comes from you I am going to leave to you to decide where it is to be exhibited. I was very deeply impressed by the remarks of Mr. Roe relating to the development of Art in this wonderful country, and it suggests to me the remark that nothing so signally testifies to the progress of America and the advance of human kind as does the Association of Art with the struggle, the practical struggle for subsistence. And I congratulate you as fellow countrymen that in America, where we are less than a hundred years old in our development, we are now having, with agricultural progress, time, interest, and concern, for the development of art, which adds to the refinement and enjoyment of the practical life.

I want to go one step further, I want to find not only art encouraged and developed in the general progress of every community throughout the nation, but I want to reach that stage of mutuality of interest and common advancement where there is just as much art on the American farm and in the American wage earners' home as there is in the more fortunate or better compensated of our people. That is the ideal civilization. I don't know why there shouldn't be just as much of that in the

farm home as in the palace of the cities. Why! There is infinitely more inspiration on the American farm. There are the fields and the rivers and the woods; there is the atmosphere of the out-of-doors, and if there is any inspiration in the world to the heights of art, it is in the out-door life of this splendid Republic of ours. And in the house in which I am speaking let me express the hope for that continuing development and advancing civilization which brings an abundance of art, a fullness of education and the ultimate enjoyment of all these things to all Americans—that is what I want for my fellow Americans.

A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING DELIVERED AT MINNESOTA STATE FAIR SEPTEMBER 8, 1920

Fellow-Citizens of Minnesota—It is a matter of very great satisfaction and a very particular interest to me to join with you in this notable exhibition of the agricultural industry of your wonderful state. I come to you with a common interest and a very common concern for the welfare of our country. While it is in my thought to speak to you specifically concerning agriculture, I want to so convey my thought as to have it known that I am thinking not of the welfare alone of those engaged in agriculture, but the welfare of agriculture as it relates to the good fortunes of the United States of America. I very much deplore the present-day tendency to appeal to the particular group in American activities. It has become a very common practice to make one address to those who constitute the ranks of labor, another to those who make up the great farming community and still another to the manufacturing world and its associates in commerce, and to other groups of less importance. There is a very natural and a very genuine interest in each and every one, but the utterance of a political party nominee ought, in every instance, to be inspired by a purpose to serve our common country. If America is to go on and come to the heights of achievement, we must of necessity be "all for one and one for all."

That Dollar Wheat Tale

Let me say, in passing, I hope it is entirely seemly to remind you that no public man, particularly no public servant from the great wheat-raising state of Ohio, would dare to think, much less to say, he believed in dollar wheat amid the price wildness which the world is contemplating today. I speak of it, because we are getting acquainted today and I

do not mean to have any misunderstanding between you and me, and I will not be grossly and unfairly misrepresented.

I have helped to cut sixty-cent wheat, I have known it to sell at forty cents. I have followed the cradle, and sweated behind the reaper when binding was a cross to bear, and I know I spoke the truth when I said, some years ago, that Ohio farmers, in the normal days before the war, rejoiced to raise dollar wheat. That statement had no reference to wartime; none to the present after-war period. Conditions, as well as prices, have changed since I made that perfectly natural and truthful statement, and other great and important changes are in contemplation, and no misrepresentation is necessary to bring them about.

A good many years ago a Chinese philosopher uttered a profound truth when he said: "The well-being of a people is like a tree; agriculture is its root, manufacture and commerce are its branches and its life; if the root is injured the leaves fall, the branches break and the tree dies."

Cause for Concern

It may seem strange to many good people that at this particular time any one should quote this saying of a wise old Chinese. Never in all our history have prices of farm products ruled so high, measured in dollars, as during the past four years. Farm land in the great surplus-producing states has advanced to unheard-of prices, with every indication that, but for the tight money conditions, it would go still higher. Apparently the farmers of the land are enjoying unprecedented prosperity. Why then, even by implication, suggest that something may be wrong with our agriculture, and that the trouble may be communicated to our manufactures and commerce? People in the cities are disposed to think that if there is anything wrong it is in the cities where food is selling at such high prices, and not in the country where the food is produced. But both farm and city students of national problems see in the present agricultural situation certain conditions which give cause for real concern to every lover of his country.

Intelligent Discussion

An intelligent discussion of our agriculture at the present time must take note of what has happened since the middle of the last century. At that time a fine rural civilization had been built up east of the Mississippi River, with Ohio in the heart of the corn belt and standing in about the same relation to the agriculture of that day that Iowa stands today. The agricultural frontier had been pushed beyond the Mississippi, and abundant food was being raised to support the growing industrial life of the East.

Then came the civil war, and following it the great western migra-

tion into the fertile, open plains of what is now the Central West. Through the homestead law the government gave a farm of the richest land in the world to every man who wanted one. Railroads were built, the prairies were plowed up, and almost over night the agricultural production of the United States increased by fifty per cent. Grains were produced and sold at the bare cost of utilizing the soil, and the farmers of the older states to the east were smothered by this flood of cheap grain. The only thing that could be done with this super-abundance of food was to build cities out of it. And great cities we did build, not only in the United States, but across the seas. The world has never seen, and probably may never again see, such a terrific impulse toward city building on a vast scale as that which was given by the over-production of farm products during the latter part of the nineteenth century and the first few years of the twentieth.

Farm-Grown Imports Increase

What are ordinary dull statistics will strikingly illumine the situation which I have been trying to convey. In the decade from 1900 to 1910 the city population of the United States increased thirty-five per cent, while the rural population increased only eleven per cent. The number of farm utililities probably increased less, but we do know officially that the city population increased more than three times as rapidly as the rural population. The figures are not yet complete for the decade ending this year, but sufficient reports have been published to give us a very dependable estimate. The indications are that no increase will be shown in the number of farms and no increase in strictly farm population. In all probability, dating from 1920, we shall estimate our farm population as thirty per cent of the whole while the urban population will make up the other seventy per cent.

Another interesting fact to reveal the danger in changing conditions. Only a few decades ago, indeed from the very beginning, the exports of the United States were soil-grown or farm-produced materials. On the other hand, most of our imports were manufactured articles. In the last half century, year after year the exports of farm-grown products have decreased—except during the World War—and exports of manufactured products have increased until again we are rapidly reaching the zero mark from the standpoint of agricultural supplies to the world. Each year our imports show larger and larger quantities of farm-grown products and the time is almost with us when the imports of farm-grown products will exceed the exports, in short, when our farm population will not be supplying the products necessary for our own people.

Forced to Grinding Economy

The farmer suffered during this changing period. Over-production

means low prices, and he over-produced with a vengeance, though it was an inevitable part of the scheme of American development. He was obliged to practice grinding economy, and to live as far as possible from his own acres. He did live essentially within his own productivity, and the farm was the factory for the agricultural home. "Land poor" was a common expression in the farming country. Many, and especially the ambitious boys, abandoned the farms and added themselves to the growing population of the cities, driven by the hardships of the farm and attracted by the greater rewards offered by the cities.

By 1905, it was becoming apparent that the consuming power of the cities and industrial centers would soon be large enough to equalize the producing power of the farms. Prices of farm products began to advance, and with this advance came an increase in the price of farm land. Improved machinery increased the number of acres one man could farm, thereby decreasing his cost of production! The expression "farm poor" was no longer heard. Men who had not secured farms of their own began to seek them, and the march to the West and Northwest was resumed. Irrigation projects were started and the homestead law made more liberal in order to make the settlement of the semi-arid country more attractive. New areas of government land were opened for entry.

Demand for Increased Production

In the meantime, the consuming public had become concerned over the prospect of paying higher prices for foodstuffs. Cities and industrial centers had been built up on ridiculously cheap food, indeed, their building was the first essential in developing farm values. Then the increase in price called for readjustment and required wage advances. Organizations of city business men began to take an interest in farm affairs and preach the duty of increased production. The "Back to the Land" cry began to be heard. Increased appropriations by Congress and by state legislatures were made to stimulate better methods of farming and thus increase production in hope of keeping down food prices. The rural uplift movement was started with the thought that, by making conditions on the farm more attractive, the drift from the farm to the city might be checked. The work of agricultural colleges was strengthened by the addition of extension departments, the function of which is to take the teaching of better methods of farming and stock-growing into the counties and smaller communities, and especially to stimulate an interest in farming among the boys and girls. All sorts of efforts were made to check the drift from the farm to the city, and to maintain farm production.

In truth, here in America, farming came to that stage where it ceased to be a mere struggle for sustenance, and it found its place amid

the competition for achievement. It was no longer the inherently directed operation, with the soil for restricted living, but became a commercial, scientific operation with Mother Nature, to share in the accomplishments of a modern life, and know a participation in modern rewards.

Cry for Food Intensified

Then came the World War which accelerated greatly the movement which was already under full headway. The cry for food which came from the nations across the sea caused further advances in prices of farm products, as well as in prices of farm land, and both profits and patriotism stimulated production. But with this increased demand for the products of the farm came also an increased demand for the products of our factories and other industrial enterprises, resulting in higher wages, and the city continued to pull from the farm large numbers of young men who did not have farms of their own and could see no prospect of getting them, and who thought they could see in the city better wages and greater opportunities for advancement, as well as more attractive living conditions. If the facts were available it would be found, probably during the period from 1905 to 1917, the time of our entrance into the war, the drift from the farm to the city continued with little abatement notwithstanding the more hopeful conditions on the farm.

Splendid Part of Farmers

The splendid part played by the farmers of the nation during the war probably never will be understood or fully appreciated by our people. More than twenty-five per cent of all our fighting men came from the farms, and after sending their sons to the camps, the fathers and mothers, with the help of the younger children, turned to and produced more food than was ever before produced in the history of the world in the same time and from the same area of land. Their working days were measured not by the clock, but by the number of daylight hours. They took to themselves the responsibility of feeding not only our own people, but also our allies across the sea. In more ways than one, our farmers made the war their war, and counted no sacrifice too great to help fight it through to a successful finish. The story of what they did, written by some one who understands it, will furnish one of the most glorious chapters in American history. One thing I may say—in every American conflict, from the revolution for independence to the World War for maintained rights, the farmer has been 100 per cent American and ready for every sacrifice.

Certain Results of Conditions

Without speaking at length of farm production and prices during the war, it is necessary to note certain results, if we are to deal understandingly with the agricultural situation at the present time, and

speaking intelligently of a future policy. War conditions put a premium on grain growing at the expense of live stock production. As a consequence, many stock producers and feeders have suffered heavy and, in some cases, ruinous losses. If this condition should continue, we are in danger, in the near future, of having to pay very high prices for our meats.

For two outstanding reasons the maintenance of a normal balance between live stock and grain production is a matter of national concern. One is that we are a meat-eating people, and should have a fairly uniform supply at a reasonable price. Conditions which either greatly stimulate or greatly discourage live stock production result in prices altogether too high for the average consuming public or altogether too low for the producer. The other is that the over-stimulation of grain production depletes the fertility of our land, which is our greatest national asset, and results in a greater supply than can be consumed at a price profitable to the producer, and finally to widespread agricultural distress from which all of our people suffer. As a reconstruction measure, therefore, our government should do everything in its power to restore the normal balance between live stock and grain production, and thus encourage the prompt return to that system of diversified farming by which alone we can maintain our soil fertility. This is a matter of immediate importance to all of our people.

Hard to Forecast

No one can forecast with certainty the trend of prices of farm products during the next two or three years. Recovery from a world crisis such as we have experienced is slow, inevitably. It is like the human convalescence from a long and dangerous illness. Our relations with the world-at-large are such that important happenings in other lands have a marked effect upon conditions here at home. Order must be restored, industries rebuilt, devastated lands reclaimed, transportation re-established, the vast armies re-absorbed in the occupations of normal life. The near future promises to be a period of uncertainty for the farmer as well as for the men engaged in industrial enterprises. America has no greater problem than returning securely to the normal, onward road again. This isn't looking backward—it is a forward look to stability and security.

It must be evident, however, to any one who has given the matter even superficial consideration, that we have now come to the end of the long period of agricultural exploitation in the United States. No longer are there great and easy and awaiting areas of fertile land awaiting the land hungry. We have now under the plow practically all of our easily-tillable land, though idle areas await reclamation and development by that genius and determination which ever have made nature respond to

human needs. Additions of consequence, which we may make to our farming area, from this time on, must come by putting water on the dry lands of the arid and semi-arid country, or by taking water off of the swamp lands, of which we have large areas in some sections, or by digging the stumps out of the cut-over timber lands of the North and South. There are of course, large possibilities in intensive farming, in that land thrift which admits of neither waste nor neglect, and in ever-improving methods, which must be as inspiring to agricultural life as to the professions or to commercial leadership. I want a soul in farming, to set aglow the most independent and self-respecting activity in all the world.

A Definite Policy

The time has come when, as a nation, we must determine upon a definite agricultural policy. We must decide whether we shall undertake to make of the United States a self-sustaining nation—which means that we shall grow within our own boundries all of the staple food products needed to maintain the highest type of civilization—or whether we shall continue to exploit our agricultural resources for the benefit of our industrial and commercial life, and leave to posterity the task of finding food enough, by strong-arm methods, if necessary, to support the coming hundreds of millions. I believe in the self-sustaining, independent, self-reliant nation, agriculturally, industrially and politically. We are then the guarantors of our own security and are equal to the task.

Other Alternative an Unhappy One

If we should unhappily choose the course of industrial and commercial promotion at the expense of agriculture, cities will continue to grow at the expense of the rural community, agriculture will inevitably break down and finally destroy the finest rural civilization, with the greatest possibilities, the world has ever seen. Decreased farm production will make dear food and we shall be obliged to send our ships to far-away nations in search of cheap foodstuffs, the importation of which is sure to intensify agricultural discouragement and distress at home. Ultimately there will come the same fatal break-down, and from the same causes, which has destroyed the great civilizations of centuries past.

If, on the other hand, we shall determine to build up here a self-sustaining nation—and what lover of his country can make a different choice?—then we must at once set about the development of a system of agriculture which will enable us to feed our people abundantly, with some to spare for export in years of plenty, and at prices which will insure to the farmer and his family both financial rewards and educational, social and religious living conditions fairly comparable to those offered by the cities. A sound system of agriculture can not be maintained

on any other basis. Anything short of a fair return upon invested capital and a fair wage for the labor which goes into the crops, and enough in addition to enable the farmer to maintain the fertility of his soil, and insure against natural hazards will drive large numbers of farmers to the cities.

A Frank Recognition Necessary

A frank recognition by all of our people of this fundamental truth is necessary, if we are successfully to work out this great national problem. It is a matter of even greater concern to the people of the cities than to the farmer and the farm community. If we can not by painstaking study and wise statesmanship arrive at such understanding and application of economic laws as will enable us to bring about a fair balance between our urban and rural industries, bringing prosperity to both and permitting neither to fatten at the expense of the other, we can not hope for concord, and without concord there is no assurance for the future.

Heretofore the farmer has been an individualist. Living a somewhat isolated life and being compelled to work long hours, it has not been easy for him to gather with his fellows. He has not had a ready means of defense against the strong organizations of both capital and labor, which in their own interest have at times imposed unfair conditions upon him. It is true that at times, during the past fifty years, there have been temporary farmer organizations brought together to combat some unusually burdensome condition, but usually breaking down when the emergency has passed.

Organization Developing

But of late years there have sprung up farmer organizations of a quite different sort—organizations with a very large membership, with an aggressive and intelligent leadership, and with a way of raising whatever funds they may find necessary to promote the interest of their members. The leaders of these organizations are learning rapidly how to adapt to their work the methods which business men and working men have found successful in furthering their own interests. The fruit growers of the western coast have become so strong that they are now able not only to do away with many of the expenses heretofore paid to others, but also to influence the price of their products. The grain growers of the West and Northwest have become strong enough to bring about many changes they desired in the marketing of their crops. The farmers of the corn belt states are rapidly perfecting the most powerful organization of farmers ever known in this country. All of these are natural developments in the evolving change of relationship and the modern complexities of productivity and exchange.

Our Business Not To Destroy

It is more than conceivable, it is apparent, that we are able to deal more wisely and more justly with our agriculture than we have in the past. Unless we do deal more fairly there may come a conflict between the organized farmers in the surplus-producing states and those who insist on buying their crops below production costs. We have witnessed the restricted production of manufactures and of labor, but we have not yet experienced the intentionally restricted production of foodstuffs. Let us hope we never may. It is our business to produce and conserve, not to deny, deprive or destroy.

I have no thought of suggesting that the government should work out an elaborate system of agriculture and then try to impose it on the farmers of the country. That would be utterly repugnant to American ideals. Government paternalism, whether applied to agriculture or to any other of our great national industries, would stifle ambition, impair efficiency, lessen production and make us a nation of dependent incompetents. The farmer requires no special favors at the hands of the government. All he needs is a fair chance and just such consideration for agriculture as we ought to give to a basic industry, and ever seek to promote for our common good.

Some of the things which ought to be done, if we are to put our agriculture on a sound foundation, have been mentioned in the national platform of the party to whose pledges I am committed.

Farm Representation

First, the need of farm representation in larger governmental affairs is recognized. During the past seven years the right of agriculture to a voice in government administration has been practically ignored, and, at times the farmer has suffered grievously as a result. The farmer has a vital interest in our trade relations with other countries, in the administration of our financial policies, and in many of the larger activities of the government. His interests must be safeguarded by men who understand his needs, he must be actually and practically represented.

Second, the right of farmers to form co-operative associations for the marketing of their products must be granted. The concert of agriculture is as essential to farms as a similar concert of action is to factories. A prosperous agriculture demands not only efficiency in production, but efficiency in marketing. Through co-operative associations the route between the producer and the consumer can and must be shortened. Wasteful effort can and must be avoided. Unnecessary expense can and must be eliminated. It is to the advantage of all of our people that every possible improvement be made in our methods of getting the products of our farms into the hands of the people who consume them. The legiti-

mate functions of the middleman may continue to be performed, by private enterprise, under conditions where the middleman is necessary and gives his skill to our joint welfare. The parasite in distribution who preys on both producer and consumer must no longer sap the vitality of this fundamental life.

Scientific Study

Third, the Republican party pledges itself to a scientific study of agricultural prices and farm production costs, both at home and abroad, with a view to reducing the frequency of abnormal fluctuations here. Stabilization will contribute to everybody's confidence. Farmers have complained bitterly of the frequent and violent fluctuations in prices of farm products, and especially in prices of live stock. They do not find fluctuations—such fluctuations—in the products of other industries. In a general way prices of farm products must go up or down according to whether there is a plentiful crop or a short one. The farmer's raw materials are the fertility of the soil, the sunshine and the rain; and the size of his crops is measured by the supply of these raw materials and the skill with which he makes use of them. He can not control his production and adjust it to the demand as can the manufacturer. But he can see no good reason why the prices of his products should fluctuate so violently from week to week, and sometimes from day to day. We must get a better understanding of the factors which influence agricultural prices, with a view to avoiding these violent fluctuations and bring about average prices, which shall bear a reasonable relation to the cost of production. We do not offer any quack remedies in this matter, but we do pledge ourselves to make a thorough study of the disease, find out what causes it, and then apply the remedy which promises a cure.

To Stop Price-Fixing

Fouth, we promise to put an end to unnecessary price-fixing of farm products and to ill-considered efforts arbitrarily to reduce farm product prices. In times of national crisis, when there is a known scarcity of any necessary product, price control for the purpose of making a fair distribution of the stores on hand may be both necessary and wise. But we know that there can be no repeal of natural laws—the eternal fundamentals. The history of the last three thousand years records the folly of such efforts. If the price of any farm product, for example, is arbitrarily fixed at a point which does not cover the cost of production, the farmer is compelled to reduce the production of that particular crop. This results in a shortage which in turn brings about higher prices than before, and thus intensifies the danger from which it was sought to escape. In times past, many nations have tried to hold down living

costs by arbitrarily fixing prices of farm products. All such efforts have failed, and have usually brought national disaster.

Vain and Useless

Government drives against food prices such as we have experienced during the past two years are equally vain and useless. The ostensible purpose of such drives is to reduce the price the consumer pays for food. The actual result is unjustly to depress for a time the prices the farmer receives for his grains and live stock, but with no appreciable reduction in the price the consumer pays. Such drives simply give the speculator and the profiteer additional opportunities to add to their exactions, while they add to the uncertainty and discouragement under which the farmer is laboring during this period of readjustment.

Fifth, we favor the administration of the farm loan act, so as to help men who farm to secure farms of their own, and to give to them long-time credits needed to practice the best methods of diversified farming.

We also favor the authorization of associations to provide the necessary machinery to furnish personal credit to the man, whether land owner or tenant, who is hampered for lack of working capital. The highest type of rural civilization is that in which the land is farmed by the men who own it. Unfortunately, as land increases in value, tenancy also increases.

An Increasing Evil

This has been true throughout history. At the present time probably one-half of the high priced land in the corn belt states is farmed by men, who, because of lack of capital, find it necessary to rent. This increase in tenancy brings with it evils which are a real menace to national welfare. The land owner, especially if he be a speculator who is holding for a profit through an advance in value, is concerned chiefly in securing the highest possible rent. The tenant who lacks sufficient working capital, and who too often is working under a short time lease, is forced to farm the land to the limit and rob it of its fertility in order to pay the rent. Thus we have a sort of conspiracy between the landlord and tenant to rob the soil upon which our national well-being and indeed our very existence depend. Amid such conditions, we have inefficient schools, broken-down churches, and a sadly-limited social life. We should therefore, concern ourselves not only in helping men to secure farms of their own, and in helping the tenant secure the working capital he needs to carry on the best methods of diversified farming, but we should work out a system of land leasing which, while doing full justice to both landlord and tenant, will at the same time conserve the fertility of the soil.

Transportation Systems

Sixth, we do not longer recognize the right to speculative profit in the operation of our transportation systems, but we are pledged to restore them to the highest state of efficiency as quickly as possible. Agriculture has suffered more severely than any other industry through the inefficient railroad service of the last two years. Many farmers have incurred disastrous losses through inability to market their grain and live stock. Such a condition must not be permitted to continue. We must bring about conditions which will give us prompt service at the lowest possible rates.

Seventh, we are pledged to the revision of the tariff as soon as conditions shall make it necessary for the preservation of the home market for American labor, American agriculture and American industry. For a permanent good fortune all must have a common interest. If we are to build up a self-sustaining agriculture here at home, the farmer must be protected from unfair competition from those countries where agriculture is still being exploited and where the standards of living on the farm are much lower than here. We have asked for higher American standards, let us maintain them.

To Protect All

The farmers of the corn belt, for example, are already threatened with unfair competition from the Argentine, whose rich soil is being exploited in heedless fashion, and where the renters who farm it are living under conditions more miserable than the poorest tenants in the United States. In times past, duties on agricultural products were largely in the nature of paper tariffs, for we were a great surplus-producing nation. Now that consumption at home is so nearly reaching normal production, the American farmer has a right to insist that in our trade relations with other countries he shall have the same consideration that is accorded to other industries and we mean to protect them all.

So long as America can produce the foods we need, I am in favor of buying from America first. It is this very preference which impels development and improvement. Whenever America can manufacture to meet American needs—and there is almost no limit to our genius and resources—I favor producing in America first. I commend American preference to American productive activities, because material good fortune is essential to our higher attainment, and linked indissolubly are farm and factory in the great economic fabric of American life.

Our Agricultural Possibilities

Under a sound system of agriculture, fostered and safeguarded by wise and fair administration of state and federal government, the farmers of the United States can feed our people for many centuries—perhaps

indefinitely. But we must understand conditions, and make a new appraisal of relationships, and square our actions to the great, underlying foundation of all human endeavor. Farming is not an auxiliary, it is the main plant, and geared with it, inseparably, is every wheel of transportation and industry. America could go not on with a dissatisfied farming people, and no nation is secure where land hunger abides. We need fewer land hogs who menace our future, and more fat hogs for ham and bacon. We need less beguilement in cultivating a quadrennial crop of votes and more consideration for farming as our basic industry. We need less appeal to class consciousness, and more resolute intelligence in promptly solving our problems. We need rest and recuperation for a soil which has been worked out in agitation, and more and better harvests in the inviting fields of mutual understanding. We need less of grief about the ills which we may charge to the neglect of our own citizenship, and more confidence in just government, along with determination to make and hold it just.

We need to contemplate the miracle of America in that understanding which enables us to appreciate that which made us what we are, and then resolve to cling fast to all that is good and go confidently on to great things.

Fruits of Our Own Nationality

We need to recall that America and its triumphs are not a gift to the world through paralyzing internationality, but the glories of the republic are the fruits of our own nationality and its inspirations—of freedom, of opportunity, of equal rights under the constitution, of Columbia offering the cup of American liberty to men thirsting to achieve and beckoning men to drink of the waters of our political life and be rewarded as they merit it. I think that the paths which brought us to the point where the world leadership might have been ours—as it might have been in 1919—in the first century and a third of national life, ought to be the way to the answered aspirations of this great republic. I like to turn for reflection sometimes, because I get therein the needed assurance for the onward march of the morrow. Today we have contemplated American farming in the broadest possible way, have been reminded where we have been remiss; tomorrow we want to greet farmers of America in the freedom and fullness of farming productivity, impelled by the assurance that they are to have their full part in the rewards of righteous American activity.

A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING TO LINCOLN CLUB, MINNEAPOLIS, MIN- NESOTA, SEPTEMBER 8, 1920

Ladies and Gentlemen: After having experienced a really wonderful visit to the great Minnesota State Fair—concerning which I understand there is unanimity about its being the greatest state fair in the United States of America, there being no dispute at any rate in Minnesota—and having spoken on at least three different occasions, one does find himself incapable of answering all the calls for addresses. But I am very happy after this wonderful spirit which you have made manifest to somehow have an opportunity to say a friendly word to all of you and express the gratitude of a son of Ohio for this very cordial welcome from one of the sister states that was builded out of the great Northwest territory which marked really the beginning of America as a Nation.

I am very glad to come and say to you as a fellow Republican, interested in the same cause in which you are interested, that we have a common project to carry out in this year 1920, and it is up to us Republicans to take the lead and ask everybody in the United States to help us save this country of ours. I do not mean that we possess all the patriotism in the land, but somehow I am growing more convinced from day to day that the Republican Party has the capacity for government, and in addition to that I know that we are consecrated to the preservation of the American Constitution on which this Republic stands.

I believe that representative popular government is the greatest agency ever devised by man for the promotion and preservation of freedom. I think, my countrymen, that the Republican Party is the best political agency there is to represent it.

There is one thing in which I take very much pride, my countrymen; as a member of the United States Senate I have been a participant in the preservation of American freedom. In the exercise of my official duties as a member of the Senate, carrying out my oath to support the American Constitution, I am one among many who prevented a barter of American nationality to submerge us in a paralyzing internationality and take away from us the one thing that has impelled us onward from the beginning of this Republic. I do not mean by that to say that we are opposed to what I conceive to be the American ideal of participation in the defense of humanity. I know the aspirations of the American heart. There isn't any hate in it for anybody in the world. Under our experience with popular government and the fraternity of states we want to play our

part in advancing the cause of mankind and promoting peace and preserving it throughout the world. But, by the eternals, we do not want somebody else to tell us what our duty is. We do not want somebody else to tell us when to go to war. We went into the war impelled by the American patriotic purpose to preserve American national rights. And we are going to preserve them. We are going to do our part in fellowship and fraternity with the world, but America still has the capacity and the conscience to determine for herself what this great Republic shall do to further the cause of humanity and of justice. And I am saying this to you, my countrymen, just as I would say it anywhere in the United States.

By the way, that is one thing I like about the Republican Party. You can take off your hat anywhere in the United States and be a consistent Republican and you can open your lips and speak for the Republican Party to any citizenship anywhere in America. We do not talk one thing to one group and something else to another group; we talk to the citizenship of the United States of America always.

Oh, there is so much for the Republican Party to do. Things have been going badly for about seven years and a half. We have drifted from representative popular government to autocratic dictatorial personal government, and we want to put an end to it. While thinking about democracy and talking much about it let us not forget that we have a work to do to wrest the government from the control of a bureaucracy. We ought to put an end to bureaucracy in the United States and restore once more the freedom that we inherited from the founding fathers. If I am elected to the Presidency, I promise you one thing sure—the restoration of representative government, with Congress functioning, with the Executive jealous of his powers but asking no more than the Constitution gives. And America once more not following the paths of dictation but in deliberation, reconsecrated to the preservation of the inheritance of the fathers, once more devoted to the Constitution, confident that in the freedom of America, with our high place in the world, we have only to pursue the natural and normal way to go on to the fulfillment of the part of the greatest republic in the world. I want that for our common country, and I pledge you, my countrymen of the Northwest, if this enterprise succeeds and the Republicans control once more the Congress and Administration we are going to get back on the main right road again and stay there for all time to come.

A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING TO COLORED DELEGATIONS, MARION, OHIO, SEPTEMBER 10, 1920

Americans: I greet you as workers in the cause of a noble religious purpose, and I shall address you, insofar as I am able to do so without thought of my position as a candidate of a party for high political office, and with my interest centered upon you, upon your aspirations, and upon the contribution of your people to America. I will center my interest also upon the contribution of America to your people and upon the justice which, in America, must never relax vigilance, not to create an equality that is worth nothing if it be not earned, but an equal opportunity for all men and women to achieve and hold the full recognition of their own merit, capacity and worth.

Too much doctrine based upon another principle has been loosed upon a war-worn world, abroad, particularly in Russia. There has grown up the idea that by some impossible magic, a government can give out a bounty by the mere fact of having liberty and equality written over its door, and that citizenship need make no deposits in the bank of common weal in order to write checks upon that bank. Here at home—we have had too much encouragement given to the idea that a government is a something-for-nothing institution. But I say that citizenship is not based upon what one can get, but that it is based upon what one gives. I say—and I wish that I could speak through you to all Americans—**“Let’s Serve!”**

Under that slogan of good citizenship there is no reason why you should not hold your heads high. You, who are assembled today, and your race in America, have the good sense, as all thoughtful Americans have, to know that it is only in a country where merit, capacity, and worth of men and women are recognized and rewarded, that merit, capacity, and worth are developed. You, and I, and good Americans, of whatever color, blood or creed, know that the aspiration of all men is equal opportunity to create recognition of differences between themselves, and that no injustice known to men can be greater than that of the tyranny and autocracy that labels itself Democracy, or Bolshevism, or Proletariat, and enslaves all men and all their ambitions and all their freedom with the iron hand of mediocrity. The American negro has the good sense to know this truth, has the good sense and clear head and brave heart to live it and I, assuming to speak a truth which America ought to know, proclaim it to all the world that he has met the test and did not and will not fail America.

I proclaim more; I assert to all the world that America has not, and will not fail the American negro.

If there are those who doubt me let them look to the record—the record of the colored race in American citizenship, and the record of America in giving opportunity.

Your very presence in assembly, coming from great organizations dedicated to high religious purposes, is enough to cause any man to give recognition in his heart to the great contribution to American citizenship which is found in the capacity for deep religious faith among people of your blood. America needs the deep religious faith. She needs it whether it comes from Catholic, Jew, or Protestant. She needs it in her citizenship, and I recognize that the best of America is our spiritual life and not our material possessions, and that if America ever lets her spiritual life die, she will no longer be the land we love.

The expression of that spiritual life, alive in the hearts of the people of your blood, has, I believe, been the basis for the achievements of the American negro. They are great and amazing achievements. They have been wrought, not from words, nor false claims, but by patience, tolerance, restraint, and by the earned rewards of that merit, capacity and worth of citizenship of which I have spoken.

Let all true Americans know that the census of 1910 showed that over 67% of the men and 54% of the women of your blood were gainfully employed, a larger percentage in both cases, than the rest of us Americans.

Let America know that the churches of the colored race have increased during a little more than half a century from 700 to 43, 000. Let her know that home-owners have increased from 12,000 to 600,000 and farms operated from 20,000 to one million. Let America know that literacy among colored people has climbed from 10% to 50%.

Let all true Americans know and recognize that during the war the colored race of America invested one dollar of every five they owned in war bonds. Let them know that 340,000 colored boys were in our Army, with only one case of conviction for avoiding the draft.

By when we Americans of whatever color, render tribute to the record of the American negro, let us not forget to render tribute to America under whose institutions and among whose people their record was made. For I tell you—and through you I tell all Americans—that if your people have progressed in so amazing and inspiring manner, it must have been that America gave you opportunity. If you have risen by your merit, capacity, and worth, and not by agitation and violence and revolt against our institutions it is proof that you have prospered under our institutions, and have loved them.

If the men and women of your blood have given, as we all desired to

give a great outpouring of treasure and blood upon the altar of patriotism, it is because the truth was in your hearts—America has given you her great blessing of justice.

You have it, and you shall have it. It will be good American citizenship that will continue to accord it to your people, If I have anything to do with it, it shall also be good American obedience to law. Brutal and unlawful violence whether it proceeds from those who break the law or from those who take the law into their own hands, can only be dealt with in one way by true Americans, whether they be of your blood or of mine.

Fear not! Here upon this beloved soil you shall have that justice that every man and woman of us knows would have been prayed for by Abraham Lincoln. Fear not! Your people by their restraint, their patience, their wisdom, integrity, labor, and belief in God will earn the right to that justice, and America will bestow it.

A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING TO DELEGATION OF BUSINESS MEN, MARION, OHIO, SEPTEMBER 11, 1920

Americans: Most of you are business men, and through you I would like to send a message to all those Americans whose interest is American business. We are the great business nation of the world. We shall be able to save that business and prosper it by a fair measure of common sense, and we ought and must do it. We will consult the able and honest men whose counsel may be summoned by the Republican Party. We will restore representative government, and replace the distended executive powers and extreme centralization which nearly eight years of misnamed democracy has brought us. We will preserve a willingness to listen to the will of the people, and will construe the desire for a common good fortune to mean the necessary good fortune of business, which is the life-blood of material existence.

American business is not big business. Wilful folly has been in those persons in distended power over our national affairs who have spoken of American business as if it were a large and selfish interest seeking special privileges, and who, on that basis, have put their bungling hands upon its throat and tried tinkering and experimenting with it, and abusing it and treating it with suspicion. Let us put an end to holding success to be a crime.

We have seen the result of this reckless, wilful course during the calamitous regime which, though a few men who are in "perfect accord" seek to perpetuate it, the American people mean to put to an end with a sigh of relief, and the exclamation, "That's over at last!"

Everybody's Business

It will be the American people who will do this because American business is everybody's business. Nearly nine-tenths of those who depend for their living and the legitimate fruits of their labors in American manufacturing are the wage-earners. The blow directed at American business, the pulling and hauling of American business by weird economic and social theories, applied by an administration which could not even run its own business, is less menacing, for instance, to the one-tenth who in manufacturing are business executives than it is to the nine-tenths who are our American laborers, and who begin to realize that another year or two of the group who are in "perfect accord" will mean for American labor the "No Hour Day."

The big business of America is the little businesses of America. The last available census figures show that more than sixty per cent of our manufacturers, which I use as an example, were little plants, none of which turned out more than \$100,000 of products. Only twenty-five per cent of our plants were even doing business as corporations. The average number of workers employed was twenty-five. When we come to analyze what we mean by American business we find out that we mean the daily work of the nation, most of it undertaken in the factory and on the farm in small units. We find out that we even mean the business of the home and of the housewife, and that American business is everybody's business. It is more than that. It is the work of every worker, clothes for his or her back, food for his or her mouth. And when this bungling administration now seeks to perpetuate itself in "perfect accord," let us remember that its suspicion of business, and the use of its extraordinary war powers and its Socialistic tendencies have been bullying and tinkering with the pocket-books of all the American people. When I hear the voices of the present spokesmen of that regime talking about being progressive, I recall the activity made in every direction, except forward, and especially that which has drawn us close to an economic business precipice.

About at an End

The day of that kind of progress is about at an end. We must face the new task. We have had a fever of high prices and excessive production out of the sacrificed billions of treasure and millions of lives, but the reconstruction must be sober business, founded on unchanging principle. We must summon the best abilities of America to put America back on the main road, and to remove the debris of the last eight years, and to

keep our industries running, and to restore the proper ratio of prosperity to our American agriculture so that it can again bid for good American standard labor. The day of the one-man war-power form of government must yield to the sound practice of the Republic.

If our memory is directed again to 1914, when the "new freedom" brought us to the verge of paralysis, we will recall that world war alone saved us from a disaster in peace. We were sharpening our wits in competition with the world, as the President then expressed it, but we dulled our capacity to buy, then war saved us psychologically and commercially but today we are at peace, actual though not proclaimed, and our problems are the problems of peace.

We must always exact, from ourselves and our business, high, honorable and fair dealing by law, and by law's rigid enforcement when necessary, but we must repeal and wipe out a mass of executive orders and laws which, failing to serve effectively that purpose, serve only to leave American business in anxiety, uncertainty and darkness.

We must readjust our tariff, and this time with especial regard for the new economic menaces to our American agriculture as well as factory.

Must Readjust Taxation

We must readjust our internal taxation, especially the excess profits tax, to remove the burdens it imposes upon the will to create and produce, whether that will is the will of the big corporation, the small corporation, or of the individual.

We must uproot from our national government the yearning to undertake enterprises and experiments which were never intended as the work of our government, and which have proved ineffective to a point which sickens us all, and that our government is incapable of performing without wreckage or chaos. Of necessity, the machinery of government expands as we grow in numbers as a people, but before government expands in bureaucratic control of business its sponsors ought first demonstrate a capacity to conduct the business of the government. When government itself has a budget of more than three billion a year, in times of peace, it has a business of its own to look after—and it needs looking after—without seeking new fields to conquer until it has proven capacity for the tasks it must perform.

We must, instead of such experiments, establish a closer understanding between American government and American business, so that one may serve the other, and the other obey and seek co-operation.

We must give government co-operation to business, we must protect American business at home, and we must aid and protect it abroad by the upbuilding of our merchant marine, and a restoration of our self-

respecting measure of American protection to her citizens wherever they may go upon righteous errands.

Build Into New Strength

We must build our economic life into new strength and we must do it so that our prosperity shall not be the prosperity of profiteers nor of special privilege.

We must do it so that abroad we are known not as a nation strutting under a plumage of fine words, but as one that knits friendly and peaceful relations by the shuttle of honorable deeds.

We must do it so that at home our economic life yields opportunity to every man not to have that which he has not earned, whether he be the capitalist or the most humble laborer, but to have a share in prosperity based upon his own merit, capacity and worth—under the eternal spirit of "America First."

American business has suffered from staggering blows because of too much ineffective meddling by government, and it is equally true that good government has almost been allowed to die on our hands, because it has not utilized the first sound principles of American business.

Allowed to Degenerate

The government of the United States, of this nation of ours, which should be an example of American good sense and sound organization has been allowed to degenerate into an inadequate piece of administrative machinery. While we have heard preaching to all the nations of the earth, which, to put it mildly, has been adequate indeed, the back of our leadership has been turned on the bad example we have set before the world in the conduct of our own affairs. I refer only to the deplorable impairment which has been given our time-tested democratic institutions by robbing our representative government of its place in our Republic in order to fatten administrative authority and replace the will of the people by the will of the wilful. I refer not only to the conspiracy of "perfect accord" by which it is hoped to perpetuate these powers. I am referring now to the fact that not only has the government been twisted out of shape, been dictatorial and meddling and has been extending its activity to experiments beyond its powers, but also to the fact that it has blundered in every direction.

The People Pay

It has engaged in prodigal waste. The American people pay. It has kept its overstuffed bureaus and departments, many of which are doing overlapping work, in a prime condition of reckless inefficiency. The American people pay. It has a record in the appointment of campaign-contributor diplomats who have been without previous experience in foreign affairs. The American people pay. It has engaged in all kinds of costly

bungling experiments of government management and ownership of enterprises which other management could do better. The American people pay. It has allowed worthy federal employees, particularly those who are skilled, such as chemists and agricultural experts, to go so badly paid by the government that they have left the service. The American people have to bear the cost. It has poured forth our national treasure into the yawning emptiness of unpreparedness for war and unpreparedness for peace. It has spent our money and failed to do business, while the prodigal flow went on. The American people have paid, and are paying. With a return to sanity we now have another task before us in making the administrative part of our government one in which a people, proud of their abilities in business, can take pride.

We must not let our administrative government crack under the load of its new burdens or those that our future may place upon it. It has been cracking badly, sometimes neglected during absence, and sometimes exploited at home by those who, now in "perfect accord," desire to perpetuate their power. To repair it is the business of every American—not only because of pride, but also because he or she pays for it, and is entitled to good government without waste.

Declare for a New System

We have declared for a system of planning our expenditures so that overlapping and leakage and inefficiency shall be revealed before they occur. This national budget plan passed already by a Republican Congress and vetoed, we must put into force.

We must put our postal service upon a new basis.

We must extend the merit system in the choice and promotion of federal employees.

We must not only lop off the useless jobs being done, but we must so reward efficiency and value among our public service employees that we may continue to have their loyalty because we have given decent pay and the expectation of promotion when promotion is earned.

We must conduct a careful scrutiny of our great executive departments to plan so that similar labors shall not be duplicated and so that similar functions shall be grouped and not scattered.

We must go to men who know, for advice in administrative improvement; we must have to aid us more men trained in agriculture, more technical men, more men who know business and the practices of commerce and trade.

We must organize our administrative government upon the basis of American business so that the faith of the American people in the common sense of the Republican Party to put America into shape again shall not have been misplaced.

I look upon the responsibility of an executive officer as being based first of all upon his ability, together with that of capable men called to execute. An executive officer of any other than government business would be discharged if he allowed paralysis and perversion of the functioning of that business, while he and his followers were engaged in addressing advice to the neighbors.

Let them who say that the American people are not awake to these matters take new counsel. The government is the people's business, and they will not see it broken down. The government is the concern of every American—of every man, woman and child. We are shareholders in it and we are looking forward with relief to an end of mismanagement.

Expansion Has Been Haphazard

This great federal machine has grown up in a century of haphazard expansion, until, as recently described, it resembles "an antiquated central building with a large number of surrounding sheds and cottages, overcrowded with overlapping officials and saturated with methods of organization and administration fully fifty years behind the times."

An eminent senator once said he could substitute his private business methods for government practices and save hundreds of millions. It was thought to be true when he said it, and we might treble the figures for the saving now.

Democracy has done nothing in eight years to cure the waste and inefficiency; it has rather added to them. We are the ineffective prodigals of the world.

Here in America we have developed the most proficient and most efficient types of business organization and administration in the world; they have shown the greatest capacity for administrative vision. We mean to call that administrative quality and fitness into the service of the government, and establish an advance in government business, not merely talk about government progress.

Conditions are calling, capabilities await, the needs are urging and we pledge a Republican administration to inaugurate a new order—a business government, with business efficiency, and a business concern for public approval.

The Keeping of Contracts

Because I am speaking to business men, and because they have a special appreciation of the importance of clearness in their contracts, I have a very special matter in mind that I want to speak to you about today. Incidentally, it ought to be said that one of the most important things in the relationship of men is the keeping of contracts. We must perform our legal obligations with great fidelity, and we must always hold our moral obligations as inviolable. If every one keeps his contracts

faithfully there would not be many conflicts among either the peoples or the nations of the world.

The special matter which I have in mind relates to the ambiguity, or the conflict of terms, in a very important contract which it has been proposed that America shall enter upon with other leading nations of the world. If the agent of a business establishment should negotiate so contradictory an agreement an explanation would be called for very quickly.

Some of you will recall that Mr. Lansing, who was then secretary of state, and who was in a position to know pretty intimately about what was going on during the negotiations at Paris, made the very frank statement that if the American people knew what the Versailles covenant would "let them in for," they never would stand for its adoption. It was for such frank expressions, and like fidelity to America, that Secretary Lansing was retired from the service at the moment of his highest need to our country. I want to point out to you, and through you to America, one of the dangerous things Secretary Lansing was thinking about when he was speaking for our nation. I am sure it is a contradiction that no business man would tolerate in a contract to which he is expected to append his signature.

The Monroe Doctrine

The thing in mind is the consideration given to the great Monroe doctrine in the league covenant and the very evident possibility, if not, indeed, a probability, of the necessary abandonment of that doctrine by this country if we had entered upon the covenant as negotiated by the President. I do not presume to give you an explanation as to the source of contradictions or the probable intent thereof. However, the plain facts are that in the first draft of the league covenant the Monroe doctrine, that strong declaration of a great national policy which we have cherished for more than one hundred years, was ignored entirely. When the President made his brief visit at home, between periods of negotiations, he discovered that America would never consent to "scrap" the Monroe doctrine; that America was very strongly committed to the upholding of this doctrine, and held it in little less reverence than the American constitution itself. So, on his return to Paris, the President made, or pretended to make a concession to the reverence of the American people. The concession was made in connection with Article XXI. The official copies of that league covenant, executed by the various commissioners, including our own, were printed in both English and French, in parallel columns. The signatures to the covenant were appended beneath these parallel columns, and very naturally each column is presumed to express precisely what the other column conveys. In the English text the exact words of Article XXI read as follows:

The English Version

“Nothing in this covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace.”

This is the quotation from the English text as proclaimed to America, and alluded to as the one outstanding expression which safeguards the Monroe doctrine. But it really does nothing of the sort, for it is a very flagrant misrepresentation of what the Monroe doctrine really is. The Monroe doctrine is not an “international engagement” nor a “treaty of arbitration” nor a “regional understanding.” It is a plain, square, fearless declaration of the United States which is a warning against European nations exerting undue influence or applying improper pressure upon the helpless republics of the western hemisphere, indeed, it is America’s warning to the Old World against foreign aggression, for our own protection and for the protection of those who have a right to look to this Republic for an effective manifestation of neighborly interest.

But this is not the main ambiguity in the contract. The point I really wish to stress is the difference between the French and the English text, which might very readily involve us in unhappy conflict. The French text is quoted as follows:

The French Text

“Les engagements internationaux, tels que les traites d’arbitrage, et les ententes regionales, comme la Doctrine de Monroe, qui assurent le maintien de la paix, ne sont consideres comme incompatibles avec aucune des dispositions du present Pacte.”

Translators say that the French is so simple and lucid that one can read it without being a master of the language and understand it perfectly. The literal translation reads as follows:

“International engagements, such as treaties of arbitration, and regional understandings, like the Monroe Doctrine, which assure the maintenance of peace, are not considered as incompatible with any of the provisions of the present pact.”

Comparing the two versions of this solemn covenant, no one can fail to perceive that one text is the complete reversal of the other. The English translation pretends to say that nothing in the covenant shall affect the validity of the Monroe doctrine, while the original version in French asserts very plainly that engagements like the Monroe doctrine “are not considered as incompatible with any provisions of the present pact.” The intimation in English is that, in the event of conflict concerning the two provisions, the league covenant must be made to coincide with the Monroe doctrine, but the literal effect of the clause as originally drawn

in the French, in case a controversy arises, is the subordination of the Monroe doctrine to such a degree as virtually to involve its complete abandonment. The President and the other American commissioners signed both of these texts in committing this republic to the league covenant. It is not difficult to see what the result would have been if the Senate had been driven into unqualified ratification.

Can One Doubt Result?

Inevitably some question involving the integrity of the Monroe doctrine would have soon arisen, with an apparent conflict between this cherished American doctrine and the league covenant. Americans would naturally have said "the doctrine must stand unimpaired, for the covenant says that nothing in the covenant shall affect the doctrine." Any European power might have replied in good reason, "No, the doctrine must give way to the covenant, for the covenant says nothing in the doctrine shall be considered incompatible with the treaty." Each side would have been right, according to its version of the language in the treaty. The question, which version is correct, would, of course, have been raised incidentally, and, in the words of Lord Cecil, the council of the league, containing one vote from the United States, "would have been called upon to settle it." Can any one doubt that the decision would have followed the original French text, which is by universal recognition, the official language of diplomacy? America would have had to acquiesce in the demolition of her cherished doctrine, or go to war, contrary to her own solemn pledge to sustain that doctrine.

One can not help but wonder whether the whole thing was a trap to destroy the good, American doctrine of Monroe, to which this Republic has been committed for more than a century. It is impossible to believe that the English version was intended to be an exact rendering of the French, no one will consent to believe it was meant to be identical in purport. In short, we were starting out with an ambiguity which, in itself, might readily be the first basis of controversy, and involve us with the nations of the Old World. One wishes to be both charitable and considerate, but it is hard to believe that this very marked discrepancy was perpetrated without intention. Clearly, either America is being deceived or the representatives of America have sought to deceive the nations with whom we propose to covenant our peaceful associations.

I do not believe the President would have knowingly been a party to the deception of his own country, and I will not assume to say that the commissioners of other lands have deliberately meant to dupe us, but there is manifest misunderstanding in the very beginning, which, in any business contract, would have to be clarified before any prudent business man would sign.

Senate Averts Danger

Wherever the fault may lie, whether it is the fruit of duplicity or the failure of intelligent understanding, it is very clear that only the Senate's demand that the Monroe doctrine be explicitly recognized saved this country from a highly dangerous controversy and probably has saved the Doctrine from complete extinction. Those who advocate America's acceptance of the league covenant ought, in all seriousness, bring forth the explanation of this shocking ambiguity of contract. I only point it out to emphasize the fact that the acceptance of the league covenant, as negotiated, which the President and the Democratic nominee for his successor, have urged upon us "in complete accord," would have meant the surrender of one of the precious inheritances of this Republic, or in all probability would have involved us in a controversy with other nations and destroyed our peaceful relationship.

It is purely a matter of business prudence, therefore, that we propose to cling to our own freedom in international relationship, and enter upon only such compact of perfect clarity as will permit us to play our part in bringing about disarmament and commit the consciences of nations to maintained peace. Nobody is proposing to hold aloof from the onward procession of humanity. On the contrary, it is our part to be conspicuous in leading to new achievements. We mean to lift the voice of America to outlaw war and settle controversies between nations as become the devotees of peace. In seeking this great advance, we do not mean to begin on a foundation which is of itself an encouragement to controversy, but we want to start with that clarity of understanding wherein we know America is right and which may hold us resolute and unafraid.

**A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING
TO MEMBERS OF HARDING AND COOLIDGE
RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' CLUB OF MARION,
OHIO, AT MARION, OHIO, SEPTEMBER
13, 1920**

Gentlemen of the Harding and Coolidge Railway Employes Club:— It is a source of very special satisfaction to have your call, and be able to talk to you concerning some matters relating to the restoration and operation of the American railways. I rejoice in the opportunity to speak to you concerning the appreciation of our people of the railway activities by which they are served.

Very recently there came to me a new appreciation of the extreme importance of American railways to our every-day activities. We are so accustomed to taking every-day things as simple matters of course that we seldom arise to full realization of their real importance.

On returning recently from a trip to the Northwest it was our fortune to have a car transferred from one railway, reaching Chicago from the Northwest, to the line of the Erie, for our return to Marion. The transfer was routed over the belt system of Chicago which connects up the various lines of railway transportation in that great city. I cannot get away from the impressions of that trip through the various Chicago yards. There were seemingly endless networks of tracks and an incalculable number of switches and crossings, and we had before us a very impressive picture of the physical complexities of our modern railway system as applied to a great center of population. Sometimes I found myself wondering how the average man was able to pick out the sure and safe way, to any given destination. The inevitable conclusion was that there always is a safe and open way, if one only knows the means of selecting it, and our business in America now is the selection of the proper route for the great train of American progress, to continue on our forward course.

One of the things deeply impressing me was that in this process of transportation, both of cargoes and human beings, there are thousands of trains moving daily to their destination, and a very large percentage of these trains do reach their destination on time and most of them arrive in safety to cargo or passengers, as the case may be. This wonderful service is so regular, so seemingly the natural thing, that we rarely utter a word of approval and commendation for the excellent things done, but we do cry out in criticism or anxiety whenever some mishap occurs.

Sometimes I think we ought to give expression to America of admiration and approval for the splendid accomplishment of speeding a great passenger train across the continent, on time and in safety, as a bit of inspiration to maintain our standards at such a degree of perfection. At any rate, the main thing in my thought is to say something of appreciation and approval, rather than to cry out in criticism.

When I stop to think of the perils of speeded travel, of the countless switches and the proneness of the human element to sometimes fail, of bridges, crossings and possible obstructions on the rails, I never dismount from a train without feeling a very genuine gratitude to every man in the railway service who has been employed in serving me and the country in the operations of transportation. In my gratitude I think not alone of the managerial genius; not alone of the train dispatcher whose accuracy of orders is a first essential to security; not alone to the clear-brained, strong-hearted men of the cab; not alone of the men who compose the train crew and their full responsibility for safety, but I think of the watchmen and tower men whose performance of their duties is no less essential, and I think of the track force which is ever engaged in humble but extremely vital work of maintaining a dependable rail over which we hurry on our journey. It constitutes a tremendous organization, with a very great degree of responsibility on every branch of the service, and out of the co-ordinated activities of all of them, with a spirit of devotion to the work and a resolution to serve, comes that effective and reliant operation which in these days constitutes the circulation or nervous system of a great Republic.

Nothing is more interesting than the making of the American transportation lines and the evolution of the railway business. If one were to contemplate the railways of America from the narrow viewpoint of one who knew only the early days of exploitation and adventure there would be a poor understanding, indeed, of the problem which we have before us. I can recall very readily the building of many railroads. It is perfectly fair to say that while every railroad was so located as to effectively bid for business, and performed its part in the development of the section in which it was located, nevertheless the chief inspiration in early days was found in the opportunity to play upon local interest and pride, and exploit the financing. The early railroad builders, in many instances, were more concerned with the profits in building and financing than they were in the ultimate profits in legitimate earnings. In other words, railway promotion and construction was a business in itself. I do not mean to commend the things which were done. On the contrary I think they are unworthy of commendation, but the fact remains that much of our very important railway construction—much of the very necessary

pioneering—was inspired by the possibilities of profits in promoting constructing and finally financing. If we were to contemplate the railways from that viewpoint today we should deal very unjustly with those who honestly invested in railway securities, and who finally furnished the means for the dependable activities of the railways which are so requisite to our present-day needs. In other words, I am thinking of the railway systems of America as we see them before us today, without any prejudice founded upon the period of the past in which they were promoted and oftentimes exploited in financial operations.

When the World War came on we had not only the largest railway development in the world, but we had the most effective service at the lowest known rate of service in the world. We had come to understand the necessity of government restraint on the financing of railroads; we had learned the extreme necessity of putting an end to favoring rates and conspiracy with big business; we had found, in short, the need of the government stepping in and applying a regulating hand to a very necessary public service. We had made great progress in this direction, much of it justified and much of it helpful, but we had gone so far in restriction and regulation that the government's response to much of the railway baiting made it difficult for the railway management to keep apace with the expanding requirements of the country. We were facing just such a condition when we found ourselves involved in the World War. It is not important to discuss now whether the railway service was breaking down under the great strain put upon it for war service, the country was apprehensive, and we were all deeply concerned in putting everything that we possessed at the command of the government for winning of the war. With such a feeling manifest throughout the country, the railroads were taken over for the war, to put them utterly under the command of government agents. Undoubtedly, there was back of the movement the insistent forces in our country who believe in government ownership of railways. War seemed to offer the opportunity for the application of their theories of government, and I sometimes suspect the taking over of the railroads was more impelled by the thought of modifying our government policy than the developing of a better service for the conduct of the war. This suggestion was later on confirmed by the insistence of the administration that it be given authority to take over the telephone and telegraph lines. When Congress voted a grant of authority to take over the telephone and telegraph lines it was expressly stipulated that no such seizure would be made unless the exigencies of war urgently required it, but after the authority was given, without a new exigency having arisen and without a single new condition of peril the telephone and telegraph lines were seized, because an administration

was in power which was disposed to take advantage of the anxieties of people, while involved in war, to completely revolutionize our government policy in dealing with these public utilities.

If the experiment with the railroads and these communication lines had been successful it reasonably may be assumed that the policy would have been made permanent. Such was the undoubted intent of the present administration. The experiment, however, did not have the effect of committing the country to the policy of government ownership. We were already enormously in debt, and the purchase of the railroads and communication lines involved so stupendous a sum that no sane government would contemplate the purchase and financially disastrous government operation.

The administration found itself without a policy. There was a very deep concern everywhere as to whether the railway lines would be handed back to their owners in a condition of chaos, or whether Congress could work out a plan to return them and perform the government's proper part in aiding to restore them to efficient service and that necessary solvency to continue their development and effective operation. Congress found itself confronted with this very serious problem, which involved the effectiveness of that transportation on which all the country relies, and Congress gave very earnest and solemn thought to the solution of the problem. No one can dispute there was considerable haste, in view of the extreme importance of the task, but legislation had to be speeded to avoid a national disaster. The outcome was the enactment of what is known as the Cummins-Esch law. No law of like importance ever was so speedily enacted. The law is not precisely the thing proposed by the lower House of Congress, nor is it exclusively the Senate's conception of the best plan for restoring the railroads to their owners under certain necessary provisions of government regulation. The two Houses developed very different measures. One measure was doubtless as righteous in intent as the other, but, like all cases in which there is a conflict between House and Senate, the Cummins-Esch law is a compromise which harmonizes the two. I do not venture to say that the law is perfect, or that it is the final word in government regulation and co-operation. I do insist that the measure represents the best expression of Congress which could be worked out in the time at the command of the two Houses, and that it has made the just restoration of the railway properties to their owners, and has happily provided the means and fixed a policy under which the railways can be restored to that degree of efficiency which is so essential to the requirements of service to our common country.

The law effecting the restoration includes the best provisions which

we had developed in the period of regulation which existed prior to the government seizures. In some respects we have gone much further and in many ways we have enlarged the government control, and at the same time we have taken into new consideration the necessary concern of the country for railway improvement. As a simple matter of truth, under the new regime, we have an Interstate Commerce Commission with enlarged authority; we have recognized the necessity of granting the railways a compensation for service which will enable them to live; we have put an end to financial exploitation; we have put a limit on capital issues; we have even gone so far as to put a limit on the return which railway capital may earn.

At this point I must emphasize one of the gross misunderstandings relating to the Cummins-Esch law. It did not provide for a permanent government guarantee of dividends on railway capital. On the contrary it placed a limit on these dividends. It did provide for a maintenance of rates for a period of six months which would guarantee a sufficient railway earning to make possible the financing of necessary railway improvements under the control of their owners, but this guarantee of a $5\frac{1}{2}\%$ earning was limited to the period of transition of six months duration, and was universally recognized as being necessary because of the admitted failure of the government to maintain the railways in a state of preparedness for efficient service. Not in every instance perhaps, but in scores of instances the physical property had been permitted to deteriorate under the pressure of war service, and rolling stock was neglected and worn out under the stress of war pressure, so that when the restoration to the owners was made they were not in a position to meet the new requirements of peace as they were ready to meet the requirements of war when the property was seized.

Hundreds of millions were known to be necessary to provide new rolling stock and motive power, and we have already had most convincing proof of the inadequacy of railway transportation to our present day needs. Coal transportation affords a striking example. If we had returned the railroads without this temporary guarantee of earnings, which would permit them to finance their necessary improvements, in all probability the great American system would have broken down entirely, and we should have found ourselves in a state of railway paralysis which the country could not tolerate.

It ought to be said in passing, that Congress was not thinking alone of the owners in providing for this period of transition, when we guaranteed the stockholders a return on their property for the first six months. We also stipulated that there should be no reduction of American railway wages during that same period. In other words, we gave

the American railway workmen precisely the same guarantee that we gave to the American owners, and in neither case was this done with a sole thought of owners or of workmen, but Congress was thinking of the welfare of all the American people. This ever must be the thought in mind in dealing with any important public question.

I have already alluded to the restrictions which the government has placed upon railway capital, railway rates and railway earnings. It is the simple truth. We have eliminated every speculative phase of railway operation until the railway business has become an extremely conservative one, with nothing left to inspire efficiency and pride in management, except that of competition in service. We have taken away that impelling force known as money-making, and reduced railway operation to a service to the American people, with a very limited return, made possible, on capital employed. There does remain that competition which may aim at superiority in service, and through that a genuine railway genius and talent may continue to appeal for the approval of their constituency and the American people generally.

Naturally, this enactment did not appeal to those radical advocates of railway ownership or those socialistic theorists who thought the railways ought to be seized by the government and placed at the disposal of the railway workers for permanent operation and profit. Congress felt an abiding obligation to restore the property seized for war to those who held title thereto, just as we are under obligations to keep faith with every one who placed his life or his possessions at the command of the government for the winning of the war. To have violated the good faith of America and to have seized railway properties and turned them over to a favored class in America would have involved the destruction of our very system of government, and revolutionized the Republic. I do not believe America will ever consent to seize the righteously owned property of any citizen to place it in the hands of another. This would be a violation of the very fundamentals of civil liberty and would take away from all men the inspiration to acquire, because the protection of honest acquirement is the thing which inspires men to do and achieve, and leads to that wholesome ambition for possession which is the impelling force in all our activities. I like to speak of these things to wage-earners, because I know that the workman most worth while is one who aspires not only to acquire for himself, but is ever thinking of doing better for his children than he has ever been able to do for himself, and we would paralyze America if we were to adopt the policy of seizing property lawfully owned to bestow it on others, at the will of any group which temporarily finds itself in a position of great influence. Every man has the right to an inspiration to acquire, and he has also

the right to expect his government to protect him in his righteous acquirement. To have seized the railways and to have bestowed them upon the operating forces would have been the destruction of everything we hold precious as an inspiration to American advancement.

The Cummins-Esch law, however, made one notably progressive step in dealing with the railway workmen. There has been much outcry against the act as being hostile to labor and unjust to Unionism and subservient to capital. On the contrary it is the very opposite of these things. No man in public life would deliberately vote to enact a measure unjust to the millions of workmen employed on American railways. I say it deliberately, I think the Cummins-Esch law the most considerate piece of legislation ever enacted in the protection of any group of workmen in the United States. In the first place it does not interfere with collective bargaining; on the contrary, it facilitates collective bargaining. Moreover, it especially and expressly utters the nation's interest in the welfare of the railway workers, and in substance provides for them a new bill of rights. It recognizes that railway workmen ought to be employed under the most fortunate conditions for the good of all the American people. It, in effect, provides that they shall be abundantly and generously compensated, and establishes, for the first time in America, a tribunal through which the government's concern for workmen may be given expression. For the first time in our national affairs this law establishes a system under which workmen may voice their grievances and express their aspirations, and speak for themselves and their fellows without resorting to costly strikes or the destructive conflict of forces. The government has fixed a tribunal in which the workmen are given equal representation with their employers, a tribunal to hear and adjust all disputes, all wage demands and grievances, and back of this tribunal is the power of the United States Government, eager to support the just demand of labor and to grant to it immediate and ample justice. Nothing, it seems to me, could be more fair; nothing so clearly expresses the advance of American public opinion in dealing with the workmen engaged in the public service.

While the law was pending I talked to a group of labor representatives about the fairness of this provision, and they all agreed that it was ideal; that it constituted a distinct advance, and when asked to say why it should not be the decision of Congress, their only reply was that they did not have faith in our government. My reply to them was, as it shall be to you today, it is ours to maintain a government in which every citizen shall have unfaltering faith.

Frankly, men, I think that the Cummins-Esch law has brought to you a protection, along with an expression of government concern, which

has never been expressed in a legislative enactment heretofore, and has given you a new charter of freedom under which to continue your activities. It has really made of you a favored group of employes, under the justification that you are employed in what may be regarded distinctly as a public service. The government wishes you to be the most satisfied workmen in the world; it wants you to be interested in the tremendously important work which is in your hands; it wants you to feel that every line of rail and every train on that rail and every cargo carried all are of deep concern to you, and that you are just as much interested in the perfect operation as the shipper or the consignee of the cargo, or of the passenger who places his safety and security in your hands. There is a very peculiar trust placed in the hands of the American railway workmen, and America wants you to feel that for the performance of a great public service the public in turn appreciates what you do, and means to see to it that you are treated with the fulness of justice which becomes America.

I think it is an extremely important thing that the railway workmen are insured against the uncertain operations of that natural law of supply and demand which often interrupts employment, and that your relationship to your employment is based upon the consideration of humanity and justice. If any man thinks this policy is unfriendly to labor he has not stopped to contemplate the spirit of the enactment. I fear a great many railway workmen have been given a very erroneous impression of the Cummins-Esch act. A full understanding of it will convince any fair man that it is unimpeachably fair to labor. There is not an anti-union suggestion in it. It does not even decree compulsory arbitration, but it does open the way to a complete revelation of all differences, and puts irresistible public opinion back of an immediate and just settlement. It must be understood by you, and by the owners of the American railways, that this act was not designed specifically in the interest of either of you, but Congress was thinking about avoiding the collapse of the American railway system, and providing that efficiency upon which depends the well-being of every industry and the prosperity of every citizen, and the continued employment of every wage earner. One needs only to stop to think, to come to a realization of the dependency of everyone in America upon the effectiveness of the American railroads. That is why I am so interested in that continued progress in dealing with the question that we may sometime acclaim the day when there can be no paralysis of American transportation. I speak the hope in the interest of all America, but I utter the caution that this condition is more important to the American wage-earner than anyone else.

All public money of necessity comes from the pockets of the American

people. Some pay more and some pay less, but the resources of government are the resources of the people, and the humblest citizen is called upon to pay as well as the citizen of vast resources. This is why the enormous loss under government operation so thoroughly disgusted the country. It cost America a billion dollars to make the government-operation experiment in war, and no one can say that it would have cost less to make a like experiment in peace. During the experiment of government operation the deterioration in railway property was a billion more, and the whole adventure brought a crushing obligation to the government, and the people who pay the government's obligations. Our big task is to liquidate the loss and start afresh. It is a matter of very great gratification that the Cummins-Esch law saved us from the collapse of railway securities, and has permitted a promising beginning of the necessary restoration. We have not yet recovered the efficiency for which the country is calling, but that must be worked out in a spirit of co-operation between management and employes. I wish I could say the thing which would add to the faith of the millions of railway workers that every undertaking is his especial service to his fellowmen. Railway employment is not mere participation in a pursuit of livelihood, it is playing a part in the most essential activity in the form of public service which the American people know. Of necessity then any law must have concern for every party at interest, and always the one big thought must be of service to the American people.

Let us ever keep in mind that the making of America was very largely dependent upon the construction and development of the greatest railroad mileage in the world. Here in the United States we have more than one quarter of all the lines on the face of the earth. Europe has four times our population and yet it has less railway mileage than we boast in the United States. With her large population, her cost of freight transportation is vastly higher than ours, and out of American genius and enterprise and confidence we have developed what is admittedly the most perfect railway system in the service of mankind. New lines will come very slowly in the future, because we have eliminated every speculative phase of railway construction and operation, but we can render high service by adding to the efficiency of the lines already builded, and I express the hope that out of a perfection of the present law will develop some means of encouraging the new lines of communication which are going to be requisite to our greater and grander development. This whole problem of making America is one of interest to every citizen of the Republic. There can be no permanent good fortune which is not a good fortune to all the people. We cannot have the larger compensation and the more fortunate conditions for one group at the expense of

some other, but the greatness in America lies in considering the right of all and harmonizing our endeavors to ever promote a common good. This is the thought which is back of every utterance; is the heart of every promise; is the soul of every purpose in promoting the great political enterprise with which I am so deeply concerned, and in which you have expressed your cordial and friendly interest tonight. Let us jointly share the hope that we may go forward in the making of a better America, with a constant elevation of the standards of living and the fuller enjoyment of the things which are included in the becoming aspirations of a hopeful American life. I want your confidence and I want the country's confidence; not for me; not for the party alone which has honored me, but for the government of the American people to which we so often turn for the practical working out of that harmonized relationship which is our security for today and our best promise of the future.

A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING TO DELEGATION OF CALIFORNIANS, MARION, OHIO, SEPTEMBER 14, 1920

Americans: I greet you who come from far places, with deep gratitude for the honor you have done the cause I represent, which I believe is the cause of all the people of America.

There is no sectionalism in the United States, and if we all, by tolerance and justice and patriotism, stand together—the North and the South, the East and the West—we will perpetuate that spirit by which America has had her being and her glories, coming through stress and storm at times, but always coming through.

“America First”—That spirit, my friends, is behind our individual citizenship which conceives government as being the expression of a community of interests and not a paternal or autocratic, or one-man source of pretended benevolence. It is an absurd idea that government may be the distributor of magic resources. The only resources of a government are the resources that its citizens put into it.

Let us not allow those who would like to retain the autocratic power which the war put into their hands to deceive free Americans with the delusion that “democracy” painted as a sign over their works conceals the fact that they have robbed us of true democracy. They have set up a one-man dictatorship which they, of course, desire to perpetuate and which finds in their various spokesmen the expression, “We are in full accord.”

For Constitutional Government

I confess little patience with those who complain about that which they choose to call a Senate "oligarchy." Those who prefer autocratic personal government to the representative institution which was inherited, and under which we have wrought to the astonishment of the world, naturally oppose the Senate exercising its constitutional functions. They do not like representative government and its reflective deliberation which discriminates between ephemeral passion and popular fancies on the one hand and dependable public opinion on the other. The Senate is not popular with those who attempted to merge inspiring nationality in paralyzing internationality; it is not in favor with those who dreamed world-government, backed by a military alliance, to be preferable to the exercise of American conscience which gave us eminence for rare unselfishness. Those who rail at the Senate accept the constitutional existence of Senate and House only when these bodies from the people are "in perfect accord" to perpetuate dictatorial rule. But the people have come to a new appreciation of congress, and find assurance in the renewed functioning of those bodies.

I like to remind our people that they elect members of both House and Senate, and in these two bodies of Congress are more than five hundred men commissioned by the American millions, through a popular vote, to speak and act for them, and to share the solemn responsibilities of government which are far too heavy for one man to assume.

For War and Peace

My own observation has been that Congress was naturally disposed to prepare for war, and, having learned the unspeakable cost of failure to prepare for war, was still more disposed to prepare for peace. In the unhindered exercise of its constitutional functions, Congress would have done both.

With the return to constitutional government under Republican sponsorship, we mean to restore co-ordinated activities and congressional responsibility. There will be no trespass of the Executive on the constitutional rights of Congress, there will be no surrender to Congress of the constitutional powers of the Executive.

Reflectively contemplating a seven-year period of fine words, much dictation, tinkering with business, and unwarranted assumption, I confess little wonder the Democratic Party complains about a Senate "oligarchy."

Of Course, They Are Irritated

The Senate "oligarchy," as they call it, and the "oligarchy" of the House of Representatives, forced them toward efficiency in making war

and forced them toward some efficiency, though much belated, in reconstruction for peace, and interfered to stay the prodigal waste of the taxpayers' money, and prevented America from being caught in the snares and tangles of their blundering in Paris. Of course they are irritated because representative government—that safeguard of our republic—got in their way. If they were quite frank about it, they would speak with equal irritation about another “oligarchy”—an “oligarchy” which they never consulted much—the will of the American people.

It is a strange and deplorable thing that the control of the Democratic Party has fallen into hands that even now are reaching out in their “perfect accord” to perpetuate the condition of extreme centralization from which America has suffered, to perpetuate the narcotic of phrases by which American citizenship was to be lulled into inactivity. What would Thomas Jefferson say to this? What do those Democrats who have looked upon their party as one intrusted with the safeguarding of local rights say to it? I think that they, with us, contemplating the precipice toward which these years of autocratic bungling have led us, will see that it is not only a precipice over which our prosperity may be flung, but over which sound American representative government might also be dragged and that they, with the great mass of Americans, will say: “We have had enough.”

When Americans say, as they do say, “America First,” they mean no one-man power, but our America as a people whose will is expressive through their representative government. They mean a nation of people whose citizenship is based upon a willingness of one to serve all, and not upon a program of herding into selfish groups, whose slogan is— “What can I get?” They mean that “America First” is a spirit by which are preserved the rights of the one man, or the one group, or the one locality, only by a watchfulness by that individual, by that group, or by that locality that the welfare of all America shall be preserved.

Broad National Party

I have listened with much interest to Governor Stephens' suggestions touching the interests of the west coast in this campaign. It is gratifying to realize that I have, in utterances heretofore made, anticipated much of what he has set forth. It happens that a communication from California has afforded an occasion for my declaration in favor of adequate protection to the very interests in whose behalf Governor Stephens has demanded it, and generally for a tariff policy aimed to care for all American production which makes for self reliance and our common good fortune.

With the subjects of reclamation, development, and water power, I dealt in my address on Governors' day, and I have found that Governor Stephens' views coincide with my own, and also with those of many men

of all sections, who have expressed gratifying approval of such interpretation of our platform as I have given expression. As to the policy of encouraging the merchant marine, I have been quoted as entertaining views in harmony with those stated by Governor Stephens; while in the matter of full naval guarantees on the Pacific it seems hardly possible that there will be any disagreement among members of our party, always eager to maintain the security of the country. Similarly, it is pleasing to observe that what Governor Stephens has said about wise, constructive encouragement to agriculture, is in complete agreement with what I said a few days ago in Minnesota. In short, I can not but feel that the impressive agreement between Governor Stephens' statement in behalf of the Great West, and my own understanding of the party's declarations of policy, constitute a fine testimony to the fact that the Republican Party is truly the broad, national party, whose policies and program are sweeping and inclusive enough to reach the entire nation.

Four Sets of Obligations

Today, for example, you have come here from the Pacific coast of our country. I do not doubt that Americans on the coast are troubled in their minds about the Oriental question, as it is called. That question raises every interpretation of our watchword "America First," for it involves four sets of obligations. It involves our obligations to great foreign powers; it involves the obligations of foreign powers to us; it involves the obligations of all America toward one group of American states, and their peoples. But it also involves the obligations of that group of states to the nation.

There is abundant evidence of the dangers which lurk in racial differences. I do not say racial inequalities—I say racial differences. I am ever ready to recognize that the civilization of the Orient is older than ours, that her peoples have their proud and honorable traditions.

In spite of the honor of these Oriental peoples and in spite of their contributions to the world's advancement, it is conceivable that they may be so different in racial characteristics or in manner of life or practice from other peoples of equal honor and achievement, that no matter whether it be on the soil of one or on the soil of the other, these differences, with out raising any question of inferiority, superiority or inequality, may create, as I believe they have created upon our Pacific coast, without blame to either side, a friction that must be recognized. The Nation owes it to the Pacific coast to recognize that fact. The Nation owes it to the Pacific coast states to stand behind them, in necessary measures consistent with our national honor, to relieve them of their difficulties.

American in Every Sympathy

The problems incident to racial differences must be accepted as one existing in fact and must be adequately met for the future security and tranquility of our people. We have learned during the anxieties of World War the necessity of making the citizenship of this Republic not only American in heart and soul, but also American in every sympathy and every aspiration.

No one can tranquilly contemplate the future of this Republic without an anxiety for abundant provision for admission to our shores of only the immigrant who can be assimilated and thoroughly imbued with the American spirit.

From the beginning of the Republic America has been a haven to the oppressed and the aspiring from all the nations of the earth. We have opened our doors freely and have given to the peoples of the world who came to us the fullness of American opportunity and political liberty. We have come to that stage of our development where we have learned that the obligations of citizenship, of necessity, must be assumed by those who accept the grant of American opportunity. From this time on we are more concerned with the making of citizens than we are with adding to the man-power of industry or the additional human units in our varied activities.

As a people and as a nation, as Governor Stephens has said, we do have the moral, the natural and the legal international rights to determine who shall or shall not enter into our country and participate in our activities. With a new realization of the necessity of developing a soul distinctly American in this Republic we favor such modifications of our immigration laws, and such changes in our international understandings, and such a policy relating to those who come among us, as will guarantee to the citizens of this Republic not only assimilability of alien born, but the adoption, by all who come, of American standards, economic and otherwise, and a full consecration to American practices and ideals.

American Agriculture

I find that your presence here gives me opportunity to put before the American people, through you, a consideration of profound importance, to which I have been giving attention and will continue to give a deserved attention. Changes have been taking place in our national life which require recognition and study, and none is more important than that which has made it necessary for us to assure ourselves that American agriculture shall be restored to vigor and prosperity. I believe, and have said repeatedly, that the agriculture of a nation, and not its industry, its commerce, or its cities, is the nation's backbone. I believe, and I have said repeatedly, that we must put the land-owning farmer back on our soil,

and provide for the loan of the capital when necessary to buy and operate farms; that we must encourage co-operation in the buying by the consumer and in the selling by the farmer of our food products; that we must increase our facilities of roads, railroads, and motor-trucking; that we must invite the farmer into our representative and executive branches of government to get his counsel and assistance, and I have said that these measures were not special privileges for the farmer, but that the preservation of our agriculture with sufficient prosperity, so that it should share equally with industry and have equal ability to pay labor, was not only the farmer's business, but everybody's business—the consumer's business, the city dweller's business and the vital concern of every one who wants to have for himself and his children three meals a day.

All Are Interested

Because the safety and prosperity of the farmers of this country are our own safety and prosperity and permanence, no man, woman or child in the United States can fail to have an interest in protecting our basic industry—that of agriculture—wherever protection is necessary by the proper use of tariff regulation.

The time has come when we are ceasing to be a food exporting nation, and we must look well to guaranteeing that we shall be self-sustaining. A failure to be self-sustaining in agriculture, in our food supply, will mean the weakness which afflicted and threatened one or more of our great allies in the World War. Failure to be self-sustaining would be a menace to us in war, and a menace to us in peace. We have adequate national and international reasons for keeping alive our necessary agricultural industries when they are threatened by competition from lands of cheap labor or new and exploited soil, by a protective duty upon our imports of food. And, of course, I use the word agriculture in its broader sense, including horticulture.

A Case in Point

I think a case in point is your own citrus and other fruit industries of California. America must ask herself if she will allow these industries to be threatened in their very existence by the invasion of foreign-grown fruits cultivated, in some cases, under a subsidy given by a foreign government, by labor which knows nothing of our own American standards of living. My answer is that just as the fruit growers of California are willing to put America first, so must America be first in upholding their efforts, and that if to save this or any other worthy and developing agricultural industry of America, tariff protection is necessary, then tariff protection must be given.

I mark out the example of the California agricultural industry not only because you are Californians, but because you are Americans, and

because the preservation of our agriculture is a vital, all-American interest, and above all, the interest of the consumer.

It may well be that a long list of our farm products will require a Republican protective tariff policy. There is an increasing menace to our production of a number of farm products in the opening of those countries which can produce under extensive methods with labor cheaper than our own.

Invading Our Markets

Manchuria, South Africa, the Argentine, Canada, Siberia, Australia New Zealand, may, in the advancing years, invade our markets and under-bid our farmers. In the case of Canada, wheat; Argentine, corn; cane sugar from tropical islands, and beet sugar from Europe, rice from the Orient, beans and peas from Manchuria, meat from South America and other imports may threaten the life of our own production. It will be necessary to give full and adequate tariff protection to those industries.

But I point out to you this fact—and I will always bear it in my own mind—the Republican protection of specific American agricultural industries must not be based upon any group or class which, either by the imposition or removal of rates of duty, thinks it will profit. Our protection by the tariff of agricultural industry must be based upon our concern for the American manufacturer, the American farmer and the American consumer. We are acting to safeguard and balance the interest of all—that, indeed, in applying protective duties or removing them, we are acting with full conscience of the rights of all at home and abroad—that we are acting for “America First!”

Spirit of California

Let me say to you Californians, and to all of this company of Americans today, I like the spirit of California. One gets it first in the story of Mission days, then in the romance of stalwart men in revealing the mineral wealth of hill and valley, in the triumph of irrigation, in the majesty of your wonderland, in the confident resolution of your forward-looking people. Fit for an empire within your own borders, you give of your confidence, your resolution, your genius, your spirit—to make the greater Republic and share in its triumphs.

Your state sent forward many outriders for the procession of American advancement. Your state quaffed the cup of confidence when the older states clung to the assurances of conservatism, and the Republic owes much of its marvel of progress to the onward spirit of the West. You in the West went beneath the surface of materialism, touched the springs of social justice, and irrigated the desert of human selfishness. You in the West led in bringing womanhood into the full participation of citizenship, and you in the West gave us the inspiring example of America excelling

in manhood and womanhood in order to lead in human achievement. Out of the East came constitutional government and its guarantees; out of the West came the widening of opportunity and new inspiration; and in the blend of these, in the harmonized resolution of the one with the glowing spirit of the other comes the impelling thought of America, confident of herself, reassured concerning her people, committed to self-government, fraternizing with the world, but jealous of her freedom and resolved to maintain it.

**STATEMENT BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARD-
ING ON THE 133d ANNIVERSARY OF CON-
STITUTION DAY, WHEN THE CONSTI-
TUTION WAS ADOPTED BY THE
PHILADELPHIA CONSTITU-
TIONAL CONVENTION
SEPTEMBER 16, 1920.**

There is abroad in the land a spirit which seeks to weaken the adherence of the people to their constitution, and which recklessly challenges its worth. It is well, therefore, to have one day in the year set apart for the clearing of our vision and the regeneration of our faith.

To assail or belittle the flag is to invite and incur the just and passionate resentment of all country-loving men, but the constitution may be attacked or disparaged with impunity, and, all too often, with approval; and yet the one is but a symbol—though a very precious symbol—while the other is the very warp and woof of our national existence.

It has sometimes been asserted that the constitution was imposed upon the many for the benefit of the few. On the contrary, it is the one thing, above all other things in our policy, which both in origin and expression is universal in its democracy. A statute rests upon the delegated authority of a small official group, but the constitution is the direct fiat of all the people. It is their mandate—expressing not their wishes, but their will—fixing the immovable boundaries of power beyond which their servants who administer their government are forbidden to go. It is declared to be "the supreme law of the land," with which every other law and every official act must coincide or fall.

It is an ever-standing proclamation of the right of the people to speak as the sovereign power of the nation, whose body and soul they are, for does it not begin with the imperial words: "We, the people of the United

States, do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States of America?"

If by some tragic dispensation of fate this constitution should cease to be, the door would no longer be closed against the stealthy appropriation of autocratic power, and the gradual absorption of the peoples' sovereignty.

So long as it endures the people will never have a master, but will rule themselves, subject to no compelling force but their own authority and the will of God.

Whether it shall endure will be for the men and women of America to determine. Respect for it, reverence for it, is not enough. They must take hold of its meaning, penetrate its spirit, cleave to its principles, confound its enemies. More dangerous than open repudiation is insidious subversion.

Our people must set themselves to the task of ending the attempt to subject the legislative power to the control of the Executive, and of restoring the substance of constitutional government under which the several departments are separate but co-equal, answerable not one to another, but each to the people from whom alone it derives its power to be or to act at all.

A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING TO KNIGHTS OF PYTHIAS, MARION, OHIO, SEPTEMBER 18, 1920

Brother Beatty, Brother Knights and Ladies: I did not know when I journeyed to join you a little while in your picnic that I was going to be called upon to make a speech, but I am getting so much in the habit of speech-making that one more does not matter.

Deep Gratification

It is more a matter of deep gratification to come and greet you. I do not know but what it is rather significant, anyway. I recall that some six years ago when I aspired to a place in the United States Senate, the Knights of Pythias of Marion gave me a brotherly reception that was attended by the distinguished brother who has just presented me this afternoon, and there was an augury in it that turned out very fortunately afterward. Whether you are of my party or not, I am willing to believe that the attendance here and the presentation by Mr. Beatty means something of success just a little bit later on.

If I were to enter upon a discussion of any length this afternoon, I rather think I should talk of American affairs from the viewpoint of a member of our fraternity. I could take the teachings of the order of Knights of Pythias and apply them to the affairs of the American nation. And if we could make those teachings effective in every department of the government and in the practice of citizenship, we could make the ideal nation and we could establish the most ideal conditions on the face of the earth.

About Fraternity

Humanity is thinking a great deal nowadays about fraternity; not only a fraternity of citizenship, but a fraternity of nations. I believe in that. I believe that the nations which have been brought to a new sensitiveness of conscience through the suffering and sacrifices and horrors of war ought to co-operate together in fraternity for the establishment of a better state of being for mankind. And yet, curiously enough, you knights will understand one thing that makes me hesitant about accepting the proposal made for our country, the lesson which was taught to me very memorably in the second degree of this order. You knights know very well that we are taught to be sure before we go ahead. At any rate, I have a very distinct recollection of such a lesson when I was initiated. So in playing America's part in the progress to a new fraternity I want to be sure for our own country. And because a knight is cautious it takes nothing from his knighthood, and if America is prudent and makes sure of its own nationality before it enters into the covenant of internationality, that does not mean that America is going to play a lesser part, a less noble part in the contribution of our own country to the progress of mankind.

An Abiding Conviction

I like to say to you, you of my own fraternity and you of my own home town, just as I said to a delegation of Americans of foreign birth and foreign parentage this morning, I have an abiding conviction that America can play her greatest part in the furtherance of mankind by first making sure of the character of our citizenship at home, and then give to the world the American example rather than the word of a republic assuming to meddle in the affairs of the nations of the earth.

I would not have our country hold aloof, and I do not hark back to the insistent teaching of the founders of the Republic who preached aloofness. World conditions have changed. Communication has brought us in contact with distant lands, and there is a fellowship throughout the world we have never known before. And I am not sure but that in our own developing civilization we have come to understand the finer attributes of life better than we understood them in the past. I know there

is no one in America who would not have this great, strong Republic play its full part in not only promoting and preserving the peace of the world, but in contributing of American good fortunes to the elevation of mankind. But, that like the practice of knighthood, is not a written obligation; that is a spirit which we are taught. While I want America to do its share, I do not want somebody else, across the sea, to tell us what to do or how to do it.

Bit of Clever Diplomacy

I am thinking of one particular instance. I know how appealing it was when America was asked to take the mandate for Armenia. There was a bit of clever diplomacy in that. Armenia had been a land of suffering and privation and starvation and massacre. Her people are a Christian people and had been persecuted largely because of their Christian faith. No people in the world suffered as they did in the war, though they were not a combatant nation. So, in the development of the new ideal internationalism, Armenia was to be reduced and come under the mandate of some of the stronger powers, and the suggestion was that this Republic should accept sponsorship for Armenia. It was thought that would appeal to Christian America. So it did. But, curiously enough, the nations of the Old World, which gathered up the territory about Armenia—Britain on the one hand and France on the other, and Greece in small part—took everything that was desirable about that long suffering land, and then handed to us the problem of taking care of that unfortunate people.

In order to force us in they withdrew their troops and said: "If America does not send her troops here we are leaving these people to perish." By that process they sought to involve us in an obligation some 5,000 or 6,000 miles away. But America did not go in. Because we have no real sponsorship except that natural desire of humanity to help fellow beings. We had no commercial interests, we had no territorial interests to guard. So I said for one—and spoke for you of Ohio, I am sure—we want to give of American bounty, American generosity and American sympathy. We were giving \$1,000,000 a month out of the pockets of the people of this Republic to keep that people from starvation.

Except One Thing

We want to give them of the morale of this republic, and we want to give them of everything we can except one thing, which we will not do, and that is involve America 5,000 or 6,000 miles away and plant sons of this Republic there in the gateway between Occident and Orient to involve us in every conflict of the Old World. We in the United States do not want that, I don't care who asks it. We mean to play our part if the rights of America are in danger, or if American honor is at stake, aye we

will be ready to go with our sons anywhere under the order of this Government. But we are not willing to be involved in such a thing under the order of foreign powers to protect their territory.

I am infinitely more concerned about promoting the spirit of fraternity at home. We of America have made a great Republic. We have developed material America, and we found out in the World War that we needed spiritual America. I never can forget a development during the early days, aye during the days prior to the war in the latter part of February, 1917, when the Senate was discussing the enactment of the armed ship bill. That is, the bill which was to provide for arming our merchant ships for their protection against submarine warfare. A citizen of Marion—and I knew him well—wrote me and said: "Senator, why are you so anxious about protecting American rights? Don't you know, sir, there is no such thing as a distinctly American citizen?" This from an American. When I answered him, I said: "Maybe it is true, as you have written me, that there is no such thing as a distinctly American citizen, but if that startling statement be true, then, in God's name, out of this turmoil of the world, out of this travail of civilization let us have a real American come from Columbia's loins to leave us a race of Americans hereafter."

Brought to Realization

So the World War brought us to a realization that we had developed material America, we had prospered, we had advanced in education, in art, in world influence and had attained a high place in world eminence, and yet although we are a blend of the peoples of the Old World, we had given very little consideration to the development of American spirit. And I am preaching the gospel, fellow knights and ladies, from this time on of the development of an American soul; from this time on I am preaching the gospel of the maintenance of American spirit, of the development from this time on of a fraternity and a loyalty that will make us all, no matter whence we came, American in every heartbeat.

You can not go on in any other way. Here in America we have no racial entity. We are a blend or a mixture or an association of all the nations of the earth, but, unhappily, up to the time of the war we were very much a collocation of peoples; but from this time on we want to be a fraternity of Americans. From this time on we want to continue to emphasize the necessity for the elevation of the standard of American citizenship, not in spirit alone, but an elevation of the conditions under which men and women live.

We in Marion little know of some of the conditions which exist. I myself am ashamed of the tardiness with which I have come to an understanding of the narrowness and insufficiency of life in many of the great

cities where people live in crowded tenements without the privilege of knowing the American life that we know in communities like ours. Somehow I want to preach the gospel of fraternity, and fraternity in turn to apply itself to that social justice and that bestowal of American rights, privileges and fortunes of all America to make us ever better people, with common aspiration and a common devotion; aye, and a common consecration not only to live for and support this Republic of ours, but to be for it, first in thought, first in act and first in devotion.

A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING DELIVERED ON CONSTITUTION DAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1920, AT MARION, OHIO

Fellow Citizens of the Republic:—America uncovers today in observance of the 133d anniversary of the birthday of the nation. I do not say the birthday of American freedom, which we celebrate variously, though always patriotically, on July 4, in reverence for the Declaration of Independence, but this day is the anniversary of the literal birthday of our American nation.

I can never forget that, in the beginning, independence was one thing and nationality quite another. The Declaration of Independence was the proclamation of the representatives of the colonies, animated by a common purpose and aroused by a common oppression. They were brought into a comradeship of suffering, privation and war, and the magnificent Declaration of Independence was the bold, clear statement of human rights by an association of fearless men who knew they were speaking for liberty. It might have been the declaration of any people anywhere who had equal reasons and like aspirations, because it is the most comprehensive bill of rights in all the annals of civilized government. Under the declaration, the colonies fought for freedom, and then in the chaos of victory they turned to nationality as the necessary means of its preservation. In short, freedom inspired and nationality was invoked in order to preserve.

No Distinctive American Spirit

We take it all so much as a matter of course now, that we little appreciate the marvel of the beginning. One may well wonder that the colonists succeeded in their warfare for independence, because they were battling against the commanding power of the Old World. They were little prepared, they were lacking in resources and they knew nothing of concord, except in the universal desire for freedom. It is well to re-

member that the colonies were not imbued with any thought of a common purpose except for freedom itself. There was no distinctly American spirit which was common to them all. They were strung along the shores of the Atlantic ocean and widely separated by miles of distance and by leagues of primeval forests and they were much more separated by the diversity of the origin of their population, by differences in religion, in ideals and manners of life. The whole thought of their association was that of an offensive and defensive alliance against foreign aggression, and there was no suggestion of a national feeling or aspiration before, during or immediately following the successful war for independence.

Indeed, there were conflicting interests of sections and states, there were wide diversities of opinion, especially with respect to the merits of royalism and democracy, there were envies and jealousies, there were differences of methods and varieties of practices—all of which made a situation difficult to commit the free colonies to anything more than the futile articles of confederation.

The Hand of Destiny

Almost a decade passed before the dream of erecting upon this new continent a great and strong nation "dedicated to liberty" became a compelling vision, and forced its way upon the waking, active hours of the more progressive and thoughtful men of the colonies. It is even true that a fundamental federal law was not in contemplation by most of the delegates who assembled in the first convention, and many of those who attended would not have been present had they known that such a work was to be undertaken. Surely a supreme federal government was not in the minds of a majority of the delegates. In that convention were men of every type of mind. There were puritan and Cavalier, Quaker and Atheist, autocrat and peasant, Yankee and slave-holder. Among them there were, even as there are now, the extremists who favored autocracy or the commune. Under other names, but easily identified with present-day prototypes, they had the reactionary, Bolshevik, Socialist, Republican, Democrat, Prohibitionist, Liberal and what-not.

It was difficult timber out of which to erect the enduring temple of the Republic, which I think it worth our while to recall to lead us to greater appreciation. I can well believe that the hand of destiny must have directed them; and the supreme accomplishment was wrought because, God, Himself, had a purpose to serve in the making of the new Republic.

Contribution of Many Minds

The formulated work of the convention of 1787 was not the contribu-

tion, even in fundamentals, of one mind. The best men in the colonies were among the delegates, and it is inspiring to recall that the president of the convention was George Washington. It is equally pleasing to note that this great man, born to wealth and position, allied by blood to the titled aristocracy of England, said to be the richest American of his time, commander-in-chief of a victorious army which idolized him, and who had put resolutely away the offer of a crown offered by men who could have delivered it, stood steadfastly in this convention, as always for a republican form of government.

The debates of the constitutional convention show that every known form of government had its advocates; that every proposition presented was discussed, amended, revised and reviewed, again and again. The result was in every instance, compromise or conviction, as must be the case when the collective judgment and not the individual will is sought.

There were many times when it seemed that the convention must adjourn in impotence. The strain upon mental and physical and nervous energies was exhausting. Public feeling ran high and fear of a war between the colonies was justifiable. It was the venerable Franklin, sage and patriot, who at a critical time, asked the convention to cease from its labors, lay aside its differences, and reverently and trustfully invoke the Divine guidance. And I am one who firmly believes that that prayer was answered.

First in All History

Out of this chaos of opinion, out of this rivalry and conflict, out of this ferment of New World liberty, came the great experiment, the first written constitution evolved in the history of the world. It was not the product of any one mind. I have always thought Hamilton to have been the inspiring genius, though Madison contributed very largely, and Franklin's wisdom was never ignored. Probably no conclusion could ever have been reached without the compelling efforts of Washington. It was not the matching of minds except in the spirited debate. Such a document was of necessity the result of a meeting of minds in unselfish conscientious and truly patriotic purposes, I believe such a meeting of minds in high purpose to be the most effective agency possible in the conduct of public affairs, and such a meeting of minds will be resumed if I am elected president.

It has been said by those who disparage our government that our constitution contains nothing new fundamentally. That might be said of the Sermon on the Mount; it might be said, and truthfully, of the components of any plan, or theory or practice in government, or science or religion. But in combination, in essence and results it was new.

Wonder and Admiration of All

William Pitt said of the American constitution: "It will be the wonder and admiration of all future generations and the model of all future constitutions."

Gladstone said: "It is the greatest piece of work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

James Bryce, the most distinguished and unprejudiced commentator upon the constitution said: "History shows few instruments which in so few words lay down equally momentous rules on a vast range of matters of the highest importance and complexity. And for illustration, he observes that our federal constitution with its amendments may be read aloud in twenty - three minutes; that it is only about half as long as Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians—and only one-fortieth part as long as the Irish land act of 1881.

It was Pitt who spoke with the spirit of prophecy, for our constitution in essentials has been the model for every constitution formulated by civilized peoples since its enactment, and every government but our own has materially changed in form since ours was established by the adoption of the constitution of 1787.

What Did It Do?

And what did this constitution do? It provided a practical, workable, popular, central government upon the representative republican plan, while reserving to the people in the states and their political subdivisions the control of their local affairs. It provided a government of checks and balances, which made the will of the majority determinable and effective, but protected the rights of the minority.

It was written in six months to meet an impending crisis, and it was written to provide a central government for the people of thirteen scattered colonies, having a total population smaller than now lives within the confines of several of our cities, and yet it was so soundly conceived and so masterfully written that its provisions fully meet the actual governmental needs of a hundred and twenty millions of people, and to meet conditions which are revealed in an experience of a hundred and thirty-three years—and, I believe, of all the years to come.

It provides for a free government of free men. Under it there is freedom of thought and expression, freedom of worship, freedom of action within the law and the rights of others.

Under it there is no reason for revolt, no necessity for resort to violence. Any cause which can enlist a majority of the free, untrammelled electors of this land may, under the constitution, win its dominance. The will of the people, expressed at the ballot boxes of the Repub-

lic, can change our government, as well as its policies, may even abolish the constitution itself.

Less Tolerant of Lawlessness

This fact should make us even less tolerant of the lawless men who seek to establish, by threat or violence, the rule of minorities or of classes, which inevitably becomes autocracy or anarchy.

The patriots of 1787 devised a government to do the things so wonderfully and graphically expressed in the preamble:

“We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution of the United States of America.”

Can any of you, my friends, conceive a clearer statement of a noble purpose? Can you suggest the insertion or elision of a word or phrase which would improve it; can any one name a single ideal of popular government which is not covered by its beautifully concise, but comprehensive, phraseology?

And the constitutional provisions are as clearly stated and as patriotically conceived. Let us look for a moment into the fundamentals of our constitution.

The Three Departments

It provides for three departments of government: the legislative, the executive and the judicial—the legislative to make the laws, the executive to administer and enforce them, the judicial to interpret and construe them.

The legislative power was vested in Congress, and the provisions relating to Congress are wonderful in far-seeing wisdom of the constitution writers. It was provided that Congress was to be composed of a Senate and a House of Representatives. The latter was to be the popular body. Its members to be elected by the people every two years. They were to be chosen from districts erected upon the basis of total population. This was intended to give equality of representation throughout the country. These districts, under the proposed apportionment, were to be small enough so as to have only one or few dominant interests; this would bring all interests under consideration in the house. The members were to be elected for two years—thus giving the electors frequent opportunity of selecting their representatives and sending them with fresh mandates from the people.

To Preserve Minority Rights

The Senate was intended to be the deliberative body—the check and brake upon the wheels of legislation. Its members were to be elected

from the state by the legislatures thereof and for a term of six years. This was to give stability to their positions and remove them from the influence of temporary excitements. As the members of the house came from districts based on population giving the larger states or communities a preponderance of power and strength in that body, the rights of the minority—and the smaller states—were safeguarded by a provision that every state should be entitled to two members of the senate. Could anything be fairer or more practical than these provisions? Under them we had in the most practical form the so-called modern idea of the initiative, referendum and recall. Any district through its representative could initiate a bill; the right of petition to Congress was established. That gave the initiative. The election of a new Congress every two years gave an opportunity for the referendum and recall.

And it worked. No proposed legislative matter having the support of any considerable minority of electors ever failed of introduction or consideration by Congress.

Independence of Action

The "Founding Fathers" were determined to maintain the independence of action of the three departments of government. They provided that the president should be elected by persons appointed as electors by the states, but they provided also that no member of Congress or officer of the government shall be an elector.

They provided that the president should have the veto over the acts of Congress—but they provided that Congress, by a two-thirds vote, could nullify his veto.

In the constitutional convention it was proposed that the judiciary should be appointed by the senate—but it was held that this would place the judges under obligations to the Senate. Then it was proposed that they should be appointed by the president, and it was held that this would make the judges subservient to the executive and give him power to override the courts and set aside the will of the people as expressed in law. And so the convention provided that the judges should be appointed by the president with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Responsibility Divided

At first the power to make treaties, with other governments, was proposed to be conferred upon the Senate, but it was agreed finally that there should be a division of responsibility and power. And despite the construction placed upon the language of this provision. I ask your attention to its statement: "He (the president) shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur." Can any American wonder that members of the Senate, in complying with their solemn oath of

office, insisted upon safeguarding America when the president proposed to submerge our nationality in a super-government of the world?

Looking back now, it is easy to understand that the fathers of the Republic had no reasonable conception of the mighty possibilities in its development, nor did they begin to appreciate the magnitude of the great thing they accomplished in writing the fundamental law, and yet somehow a sense of the tremendous importance must have been upon them. Brancroft wrote: "The members were awestruck at the result of their councils. The constitution was a nobler work than they had believed it possible to devise."

Too Close for Full Realization

Our nation is one and one-third century old, which is but a very brief period in the story of mankind. There are some rare instances in which three generations in one family stretch from the immortal beginning to the wonderful now. I have, myself, in these later years, met great-grandchildren of those who participated in the making of the constitution, yet in that stretch of time we have grown to the greatest republic on the face of the earth, and the work which the fathers did in their day still lives in full force as the fundamental law of the oldest living Republic.

This makes it easy to understand why the constitution makers did not appreciate the greatness of their achievement. They stood too close for full realization, but we may contemplate it today in the revealing light of history and from the viewpoint of American accomplishments. One by one European autocracies have yielded, until, in the last great onrush of democracy, practically all nations have been engulfed, even steadfast and solid Britain has shaken off the control which her aristocracy wielded for centuries, and has raised her house of commons to practically unrestricted authority.

America alone among the great nations of the world has undergone no change or vicissitude which in itself has not proved to be strengthening, both materially and spiritually. An anchor our constitution has been called, but if it be so regarded it can not be held a rigid, immovable thing, but rather as a sheet anchor, serving only to keep the great ship safe and steady on her course; because there is nothing inelastic in our basic law. Almost immediately the "Bill of Rights" for men was added and now, by the votes of men, the yet more striking "Bill of Rights" for women has been adopted.

Never Failed the World

During all these years the constitution has never failed America and despite heedless assertions to the contrary which occasionally reach our ears, America has never failed the world. Not only has she afforded

a safe refuge and unrestricted opportunity to oppressed beings everywhere, but by showing that "liberty with law is fire on the hearth, but liberty without law is fire on the floor," she has proven democracy itself. Far more by force of example than by force of arms, she has shattered the idols of monarchy and brought thrones crashing to the ground. And now, as ever before when distracted peoples are in the throes of a rebirth of nations, she stands ready, and let us hope, will soon be in a position, through earnest co-operation of all branches of our government, to lend a helping hand, but she herself must point the way. To "America First," as pledged by the individual, I would add simply as addressed to the nation, "To thine own self be true."

How can we then, in reason and with confidence, make sure of fulfilling our mission on earth? The first step is plain. We must strictly maintain and scrupulously observe, in letter and in spirit, the mandates of the constitution of the United States. We are not doing so now. We are at war, not alone technically with Germany, but actually with the little helpless republics of our own hemisphere.

There's a Difference

There is the difference. The wars against the Central Powers were decreed by Congress in the exercise of authority conferred upon it by our fundamental law, but the wars upon our neighbors to the south were made and are still being waged, though never declared, through the usurpation by the executive of powers not only never bestowed upon him, but scrupulously withheld by the constitution.

Of the fact there can be no question. It is admitted, even boasted of, by the Democratic candidate for vice-president, between whom, if elected, and the presidency itself would be but a single life.

"You know," he said to the people of Montana, as his words were quoted by the press, "I have had something to do with the running of a couple of little republics. The fact is that I wrote Hayti's constitution myself, and, if I do say it, I think it is a pretty good constitution. Until last week I had two votes in the league assembly; now Secretary Daniels has them."

First Official Admission

To the best of my information, this is the first official admission of the rape of Hayti and San Domingo by the present administration. To my mind, moreover, it is the most shocking assertion that ever emanated from a responsible member of the government of the United States. Talk about self-determination! Talk about American ideals! Talk about equal rights for small nations! Before confession of deeds such as this, what becomes of the smooth rhetoric of vaunted righteousness to which we have so long been accustomed?

True, we know little of the conduct of these wars of "occupation" and the imposition of laws upon our helpless neighbors. The censorship is no less strict than it was during the secret conferences and conspiracies in Paris. Congress has not been informed. The people are kept in ignorance. But gradually the torch of truth is illuminating those dark places. Practically all we know now is that thousands of native Haytians have been killed by American Marines, and that many of our own gallant men have sacrificed their lives at the behest of an executive department, in order to establish laws drafted by an assistant secretary of the navy, to secure a vote in the league and to continue at the point of the bayonet a military domination which at this moment requires the presence of no less than 3,000 of our armed men on that foreign soil

Intent of Law Subverted

Other disquieting phases of this unprecedented performance on the part of the administration need not now be considered. My present purpose is served by indicating the lengths to which a subtle autocracy, professing publicity but practicing secrecy, has already gone in subverting the plain intent of our basic law.

Vastly more important and far more menacing to our own popular institutions than even this distressing example is the proposal to transfer, by indirection, the chief prerogative of one department of the government to another. As all are well aware, the constitution vests in congress exclusively the power to declare war, but it also declares that a duly-executed treaty "shall be the supreme law of the land." Precedent and practice, moreover, make it incumbent upon one department of the government to make effective any agreement duly entered into under given authority by another.

Under Article X of the Versailles covenant, now being subjected to a solemn referendum, it would be the appointee and representative of the President, not of Congress nor of the people, who would either acquiesce in or reject a proposition in the council of the league to uphold by force of arms the cause of one power against another.

It comes down, then, to this: Do the American people want to transfer the war-making power in practice from the Congress to the president? That is what acceptance of Article X of the covenant as the supreme law of the land would do. Whether such acceptance would violate the letter of the constitution is perhaps a question. That it would violate the spirit of the constitution there can be no question in any honest mind in all the land.

Constitution or Covenant?

The constitution or the covenant—that, my countrymen, is the paramount issue. The two are irreconcilable. We can not be governed from

both Geneva and Washington. We can not follow our present chief magistrate without forsaking the "Father of Our Country." We can not pin our faith to hazy visions of the future without putting out of mind the stern realities of the past. We can and shall do right, as we always have done right, by our fellowmen the world over, but the question immediately confronting us is our own, to be decided by ourselves.

Under the constitution we have prospered and developed; under the constitution we have kept alive the watch-fires of freedom and have maintained the open door of liberty. Under the constitution we have seen millions of people, self-governed, self-controlled, work out their destiny in ordered liberty. Under the constitution we have worshipped God in accordance with conscience without let or hindrance, and we have seen the reins of power transferred from hand to hand, in bloodless revolution, at the behest of the people.

Under the constitution we have welcomed the oppressed or unfortunate of every land, and shared with those who desired and deserved our heritage and citizenship.

Equal Voice and Vote

Under our constitution, with the amendments so readily made when major settlement is evoked, every man and every woman may have an equal voice and vote in the government which he helps establish, maintain and direct. Under it the rights of each and all are guaranteed. Every citizen is made, so far as our imperfect human nature permits, safe in his person, his property, his rights of every kind.

No honest man, who loves his kind, can ask more than that. When he does not receive that, the fault is all or partly his own, and flows not from failure of plan of government, but from failure of performance.

I have said that I hold this to be the birthday of our nation. I know that we date our independence to the memorable July day in 1776 when the bell of Independence Hall "rang out liberty" to all the peoples of the world. I know that the confederation of colonies was the great, the essential step toward the consolidation of victories of the revolution, but it was the ratification of the inspired constitution of 1787 that first established us as a nation. I want it to abide; I want it to impel us onward; I want the Republic for which it was conceived; and I want the Republic governed in America, under the constitution.

For myself, I have only this to say: Before entering on the execution of my office, if you elect me to be your president, I shall be required solemnly to swear that I will, "to the best of my ability, preserve protect and defend the constitution of the United States."

I take that oath now, my countrymen, on this the one hundred and thirty-third anniversary of the birth of the ark of our covenant of freedom.

**A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING
TO DELEGATION OF CITIZENS OF FOR-
EIGN BIRTH, MARION, OHIO,
SEPTEMBER 18, 1920**

My Countrymen: You are, in large part, men and women of foreign birth, but I do not address you as men and women of foreign birth; I address you as Americans, and through you I would like to reach all the American people. I have no message for you which is not addressed to all the American people, and, indeed, I would consider it a breach of courtesy to you and a breach of my duty as candidate for high office to address myself to any group or special interest or to any class or race or creed. We are all Americans, and all true Americans will say, as I say, "America First!"

Let us all pray that America shall never become divided into classes and shall never feel the menace of hyphenated citizenship! Our uppermost thought today comes of the awakening which the World War gave us. We had developed the great American Republic; we had become rich and powerful, but we had neglected the American soul. When the war clouds darkened Europe and the storm threatened our own country, we found America torn with conflicting sympathies and prejudices. They were not unnatural; indeed they were, in many cases, very excusable, because we had not promoted the American spirit; we had not insisted upon full and unalterable consecration to our own country—our country by birth or adoption. We talked of the American melting pot over the fires of freedom, but we did not apply that fierce flame of patriotic devotion needed to fuse all into the pure metal of Americanism.

American Neglect

I do not blame the foreign born. Charge it to American neglect. We proclaimed our liberty, but did not emphasize the essentials to its preservation. We boasted our nationality, but we did not magnify the one great spirit essential to perfect national life.

I speak for the fullest American devotion; not in putting aside all the tenderer and dearer attributes of the human heart, but in the consecrations of citizenship. It is not possible, and it ought not to be expected, that Americans of foreign birth shall stifle love for kinsfolk in the lands from which they came. It would be a poor material for the making of an American if one of foreign birth would, or could, be insensible to the fortunes of father and mother, or grandfathers and grandmothers, of brothers and sisters; if he could be insensible to the fortunes of the people from

whom he came. America does not want, and does not ask that. We want the finer attributes of humanity in all our citizenship, and we wish these lovable traits in foreign-born and American-born. But we do ask all to think of "America First;" to serve "America First," to defend "America First," and plight an unalterable faith in "America First."

No Hyphenated Americanism

We are unalterably against any present or future hyphenated Americanism. We have put an end to prefixes. The way to unite and blend foreign blood in the life stream of America is to put an end to groups; an end to classes; an end to special appeal to any of them; an end to particular favor for any of them. Let's fix our gaze afresh on the constitution, with equal rights to all, and put an end to special favors at home and special influence abroad, and think of the American, erect, and confident, in the rights of his citizenship.

I like to think of an America without sectional lines, an America without class groups. I do not mean the natural fellowship or fraternity, that association which comes from wholesome human traits. I am thinking of the selfish grouping that made us sectional, and the selfish grouping which makes for classes, and the selfish grouping which looks to government to promote selfish ends rather than the good of our common country.

For Our People

I like to think of an America where every citizen's pride in power and resources, in influence and progress, is founded on what can be done for our people, all our people; not what we may accomplish to the political or national advantage of this or that people in distant lands.

It was my official duty to sit with the Senate committee on foreign relations when it was hearing the American spokesmen for foreign peoples, during the peace conference at Paris. Under the rules, we could give hearing only to Americans, though many whom we had no right to hear sought to bring their appeal to the Senate, as though it possessed some sense of justice which had no voice in Paris. We heard the impassioned appeals of Americans of foreign birth on behalf of the lands from which they came—where their kinsfolk resided. No one doubted their sincerity; no one questioned their right to be interested. But for me there was a foreboding, a growing sense of apprehension.

How can we have American concord; how can we expect American unity; how can we escape strife, if we in America attempt to meddle in the affairs of Europe and Asia and Africa; if we assume to settle boundaries; if we attempt to end the rivalries and jealousies of centuries of Old World strife? It is not alone the menace which lies in involvement abroad; it is the greater danger which lies in conflict among adopted Americans.

This is the objection to the foreign policy attempted, not with the advice and consent of the Senate, but in spite of warning informally uttered. America wants the good will of foreign peoples, and it does not want the ill will of foreign-born who have come to dwell among us.

Nothing Helpful

Nothing helpful has come from the wilful assumption to direct the affairs of Europe. No good of any kind has proceeded from such meddling in Russia. None in the case of Poland. None in the case of the Balkan states. None in the case of Fiume. On the contrary, the mistaken policy of interference has broken the draw-strings of good sense and spilled bad counsel and bad manners all over the world.

That policy, my countrymen, is a bad policy. It is bad enough abroad, but it is even more menacing at home. Meddling abroad tends to make Americans forget that they are Americans. It tends to arouse the old and bitter feelings of race, or former nationality, or foreign ancestry, in the hearts of those who ought never be forced to turn their hearts away from undivided loyalty and interest given to "America First."

The Great Menace

I want America on guard against that course which naturally tends to array Americans against each other. I do not know whether or not Washington foresaw this menace when he warned us against entangling alliances and meddling abroad, but I see it, and I say to you that all America must stand firm against this dangerous and destructive and un-American policy. Meddling is not only dangerous to us, because it leads us into the entanglements against which Washington warned us, but it also threatens an America divided in her own household, and tends to drive into groups seeking to make themselves felt in our political life, men and women whose hearts are led away from "America First" to "Hyphen First!"

A Warning Sounded

For Americans who love America, I sound a warning. The time might come when a group or groups of men and women of foreign birth or foreign parentage, not organized for the interest of America, but organized around a resentment against our government interference abroad in their land of origin, might press, by propaganda and political hyphenism, upon our government to serve their own interests rather than the interests of all America. It is not beyond possibility that the day might come—and may God forbid it!—when an organized hyphenated vote in American politics might have the balance of voting power to elect our government. If this were true, America would be delivered out of the hands of her citizenship, and her control might be transferred to a foreign capital abroad.

Message to All Americans

I address this warning to you because though it is a message to all Americans which you may spread widecast when you leave this spot, nevertheless it is of even greater concern to you, who were born on other soil, or whose parents were born upon other soil, than it is to any one else in all the world. America is peculiarly your America. Men and women of foreign blood, indeed, are America. They have come here because, under our Republic, grown upon a firm foundation, there is liberty, and the light of democracy which shines in the hearts of all mankind. America is yours to preserve, not as a land of groups and classes, races and creeds, but America, the ONE America! the United States, "America the Everlasting!"

Let us all remember, however, that "America First" does not mean that the America which we all love and under whose flag we must always remain a people united is to be an American blind to the welfare of humanity throughout the world or deaf to the call of world civilization. But our ability to be helpful to mankind and our preparation for leadership lies in first being secure at home, and mighty in our citizenship. Therein lies strength; therein is the source of helpful example.

It Is Service That Counts

Let us say it to native-born and to foreign-born—our citizenship ought to be founded first upon our sense of service; we must not be deluded by the idea that government is a magic source of benevolence. No government can ever give out more resources than its citizens put in. Just as good citizenship, whatever its creed, or race, means "America First," so also good government means the welfare of all its citizens. The welfare of a part of our people is often vital to the welfare of us all.

When I speak for the American farmer, I am thinking of all the people. When I speak for American labor, I am thinking of all America. When I am concerned about prosperous business, I am concerned with our common good fortune. They are inseparably linked in any permanent progress.

For Good of All

With the same interest in a common good, I urge now and shall, with increasing conviction, always urge, that America shall give to her citizens the benefits of social justice and the conservation of human resources which a humane democracy owes to citizenship. I do this, not only in behalf of those in whose interest unthinking persons might believe I desired America to act, but in behalf of all America. This nation of ours is the best in the world for all persons to live in, and for all men and women to love with all their hearts. Our standards of living are the highest. I

insist that they shall be kept so. Our standards of humane consideration for mankind are unexcelled. I insist they shall not only be maintained, but maintained upon deeds rather than upon a foam of words and a froth of propaganda.

American Conscience

I insist that American conscience recognizes the duty of protecting our national health. I insist that it will protect American motherhood, and American childhood, and the American home. I insist that it place the welfare of the human-being above all else. I insist that it will act, not only to give the weak, and those who need protection, and who righteously should have social justice, their due, but because the concern for the less fortunate is an interest of us all.

Above all, we must give our attention as a nation, to American childhood, because American childhood is the future citizenship of America.

Health comes first. The war disclosed that between a fourth and a third of our young men in the draft were physically delinquent. Examination of our school children in various cities discloses that nearly fifty per cent. of them—boys and girls—have physical defects, most of which can be remedied if discovered in time. I do not discuss at the moment the relation of federal health agencies to local health agencies, but I do say that we must insist upon an American conscience acting at once to raise our health standards, especially as they bear upon the welfare of American childhood.

No Defense Possible

There can be no defense for working conditions which rob the American child of its rights, just as there can be no defense of an industrial life of a nation or the agricultural life of a nation which so draws away the strength of our women that it poisons and weakens motherhood. When we make these assertions of national conscience, we do not make them for political gain, though it is a fact that the Republican Party has been the bulwark in preserving our human resources, but we make them as a principle standing above party, and as an American principle and in behalf of all America.

It is impossible, my countrymen, to have an America such as we would have her, until there are no failures upon her part to protect American childhood and American motherhood. The nation, the several states and all their communities and all citizens of America must unite to prevent the growth in America of sore spots where the equal opportunity of every man, woman and child to prove their own worth might be taken away from the human individual.

It has seemed fitting to speak of this matter of social betterment, because the greater proportion of our foreign-born Americans have preferred

our cities and the lure of the factory to the call of the American farm. It is not surprising. For association's sake, many of them have accepted crowded tenements and privations, and dwelt amid conditions which do not permit standing out in the fulness of American opportunity or measuring to ideal American standards. We want them to know the best America and give their best to America, and in clasping the hand of American conscience and freedom, they shall be impelled to give America both head and heart in that love and loyalty that makes in America a people distinct from all others in surpassing love of country.

**A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING
TO DELEGATION OF G. A. R. VETERANS,
AND DELEGATION OF CITIZENS FROM
KENTUCKY AND TENNESSEE,
SEPTEMBER 20, 1920**

My Countrymen all: This is a very unusual occasion, and you have made my heart very glad this morning. I count it a very fine thing that we should have present this morning the sons of the state which gave to America the immortal Lincoln, under whose inspiration you fought, along with these representatives of the Grand Army of the Republic and kindred organizations, which gave to America the indissoluble union and preserved our nationality.

Somehow or other I find myself with a new deference, a little higher regard for the Grand Army today, if that be possible, than I ever had before. We are talking nowadays very much about preservation of American nationality, and I never speak of it without the full consciousness that had it not been for you there would be no nationality today to preserve.

And I like to think of the blend of Kentucky and Tennessee with the sons of the North who saved the Union. I like to think that in this year 1920 there are few wounds of the Civil War remaining, there are few evidences of sectionalism in our national life; and there is no one who regrets the winning of the war by the North and the preservation of this wonderful land of ours.

I like to recall that, after all, there were no very great differences between us. Kentucky, as you know was itself divided between the North and the South; Kentucky sent her sons to the war for the Union as well as to fight on the side of the Confederacy. They had the same passion for country in the border states and the southern states that we

had in the North. I think it was only a misdirected passion for country. You know there were two schools of American politics from the very beginning. One was the national school and the other was the school of states' rights. One school was led by Hamilton and the other by Thomas Jefferson. One believed in great national power, a strong confederation; the other believed in very limited national power, only for purposes of defense. And those two schools of American politics were in conflict from the very beginning of the Republic. They waged their warfare with never-ending intensity until it finally culminated in the great Civil War, and in that conflict the question was settled and the United States committed everlastingly to nationality. In the fires of civil strife, in the conflict of flesh and treasure and blood was burned the dross from the misdirected passion for country in the South and turned the pure gold into the shining stars in dear Old Glory. And today we are all Americans, and if I speak with especial earnestness, I speak for the preservation of this American nationality to which we have been committed at so extreme cost.

Have you ever stopped to think that we, one people with naturally one interest, were led into the Civil War by a mere ambiguity in the Federal Constitution? In the beginning we were so divided in our ideas that there was of necessity uncertainty left in the compact that was made and it required the Civil War to wipe it out. And that was a very great price to pay. But remembering that, my countrymen, I want to ask you, knowing the cost of wiping out the ambiguity in the constitution of our own Republic, how can we ever consent to enter into a new world compact with a dozen ambiguities in it?

Let me call your particular attention to one: There is much dispute about that which is known as "The Heart of the League." No American can be simultaneously for Article X and for the Constitution of our Republic any more than an American in Lincoln's time could be simultaneously for emancipation and for slavery.

Article X, "The Heart of the League"—to revise which is "To break the heart of the world."

Let me say right here in passing, that I am a fairly sympathetic human being, and I wouldn't break the heart of anybody knowingly, but I would rather break the heart of the world than destroy the soul of the United States of America.

Article X is a reciprocal pledge on our part to help preserve the independence and the territorial integrity of forty-four nations (if all who are invited to join the League do so) commanding thirty-five million square miles of the earth's surface. Article X and its corollaries clearly contemplate war, if need be, to make this preservation possible. In case

of such war it is official testimony, in the words of the President himself, that America is "Under an absolutely compelling moral obligation" to go in. Mark well those ominous words: There is nothing elastic about absolute compulsion. Yet the constitution makes Congress absolutely sovereign over America's decision as to war. Therefore, what is the result? The covenant and the constitution immediately clash. Confronted with this unescapable fact, American citizens are told by league apologists, and by the Democratic nominee for President, that legally no treaty can subvert the constitution, and therefore, that by resort to legal excuse we may escape the absolute compulsion of a solemnly pledged moral obligation. A choice, in other words, between the American constitution and dishonor.

I wonder, men and women, if your sons and grandsons helped to win the World War for such purpose as this? Is any pacifist in America so deluded as to believe that a new era of international friendliness is ushered in upon the heels of so stupendous a fraud? Once upon a time when Congress sought to allow American ships to pass through the American Panama Canal, built by American genius, with American money, to further American commerce and add to American defense, and when we built that canal with the understanding that American ships were to pass through free of tolls, pursuant to Democratic contract with the people as well as Republican covenant, the same President who brought us the league begged Congress and his own partisans to ignore their pledge because England objected that such action would violate the purport of an obsolete Clayton-Bulwar Treaty. He pledged that the treaty's moral obligation flung absolute compulsion upon us to ignore our constitutional rights to rule our own destiny, and do as we choose with our own ships in our own canal. And the moral obligation won. Who cares to say that this same sort of logic will not some day be used to plague an unwilling America into foreign war if we unreservedly subscribe to Article X, the constitution to the contrary notwithstanding!

So I say to you, men from Kentucky and Tennessee, and members of that great organization which saved to us Union and nationality, make your choice—Constitution or the proposed league, which? I haven't any doubt what your decision will be. You believe in the United States of America. You believe in the fundamental law. You believe in the capacity of America to determine for herself what she is going to do.

Oh, my countrymen, that does not mean that we do not intend to play our part in the activities of the world. That does not mean that we propose to hold aloof and live a selfish existence. Why bless you, if selfishness had impelled, there never would have been a Civil War, because we of the North could have lived alone and prospered and had every-

thing worth while without engaging in conflict with the South over the Union and the Constitution.

You know we went to war, or you did, to preserve the ark of the covenant of American liberty, and I tell you, my countrymen, the great issue in America today is to preserve that ark, which is the great American inheritance. And if the party for which I speak today may have its way, we mean to preserve it. And still, in a practical way we propose making America's full contribution to the progress and the uplift of mankind and the maintenance of the peace of the world.

But I like to say to you who know so much of sacrifice and hardship, we do not need any council of foreign power to tell us how to play our part. More than that, my countrymen, we have some other matters of vital importance to discuss—but before I pass to that I cannot resist telling of a sweet little incident of the morning that is apropos of this blend of the meeting of today. Sitting on this porch but a little while ago was one of the notable women of our country. She had married a son of Old Kentucky, Col. P. C. Baker, who went from old Kentucky to fight with the Gray during the Civil War. One day, after the war was ended, this good woman with her husband visited Corinth and made a pilgrimage to Old Fort Robinette. There the Confederate son of Kentucky stood with his wife and pointed out where he had been located during the fight, and then rejoiced with her over the Union restored. A few years later he went to his reward. In the passing of time the widow met a son who wore the Blue, and they became lovers, and the widow of the son of a Kentucky colonel married Robt. J. Burdette, who had gone from Illinois to fight for the preservation of the Union. The incident had never been related, but one day traveling southward Robt. Burdette took his wife to Corinth. Having reached there he said, "Let's go and visit old Fort Robinette." After they got out to the Fort he said, "I want to show you where I was stationed during the fight." There the husband showed the wife where he had fought against her previous husband. And yet such was the friendship and the rejoicing of the after-war period that that little incident was the sweetest of their lives.

The same woman had loved in turn a man who wore the gray and a man who wore the blue, and these men in the end loved the same country. And I tell you, my countrymen, in this modern day we have put aside the old grievances, the old sores; we have healed the old wounds, and today we are one common country in these United States.

Somehow I like to think that a son of Ohio was probably the most distinguished of all in helping to that understanding. The flagpole standing there in the yard was sent here as a matter of sentiment because it stood in the door-yard of one of the humblest, most sympathetic and

beloved Americans of all time, during his campaign for the Presidency, William McKinley, of our own state. And I like to think of McKinley, not only as a great American who always spoke for America first, but I like to think of McKinley, who with his tact and gentleness and sympathy and understanding, came to know the South and made the South know him; and he started the great work of healing the wounds of war. When he got into the Spanish-American conflict in 1898, we became again one people in this land of ours, and I have said it many times, and I like to say it to you, my countrymen, today, that if in the crowning wreaths of immortality there is a separate bloom for every noble achievement, then, sirs, an angel of the South will put on Wm. McKinley's brow the sweetest garland that can blossom there. He brought us to an understanding, to a common understanding between the sections that leaves no lines to mark a difference in a new appreciation of the American inheritance. And I want, my countrymen, to go on preserving the nationality that these veterans of the Civil War handed down to us, not only unimpaired, but revealed anew. And I want to hold it secure for Americans for all time to come. That is our proposal in this campaign.

I thank you men and women of Kentucky and Tennessee for the honor of your visit, and I thank you veterans of the Grand Army of the Republic and men and women of the auxiliary organizations, from the bottom of my heart, for this tribute in your call of today, and I make you the pledge of the son of a veteran that everything in my power shall be done to hold intact the inheritance you gave to us.

A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING TO LOYAL ORDER OF GOLDEN HEART, MARION, OHIO, SEPTEMBER 21, 1920

Ladies and Gentlemen: It is a very gratifying thing to have your call. I like the suggestion that Mr. Mannington has made, that you are a fraternal organization given to patriotic devotions. You know the world has found itself lately very much committed to the ideas of fraternity. It is the natural outcome of a new understanding of our relationships. Fraternity is one of the most natural things in life. You have seen it in the organization of men into small groups, of women in their societies. You often see it in the animal life, where Nature has somehow implanted in them love of life and at the same time the love of fraternity and association together, and if you stop to think about it you will discover that in animal life there is the fraternity of protection and mutual advancement. This finds expression in our human relationships in various forms. I do not suppose there is a people in all the world that has so developed the fraternity idea as we have in the United States. I have sometimes wondered how many fraternal orders there are, some secret, some open.

But we find fraternity in all the walks of life. It is a curious stage in human affairs when we have run really to excess in some forms of organization. It only magnifies through the tendency of men and women of common aspirations to get together to further their very natural interests. In a broader sense we have come a little nearer to a fraternity of nations.

The World War brought us to a new realization, that mankind, after all, was interested in one common purpose, namely, the uplift of mankind. Nations that were once looking at each other in envy and jealousy and rivalry have come to understand that their best interests are to be served in mutual advancement and we have come to the stage in human affairs where we are seeking to put an end to warfare and to conflict and to dwell in a little closer understanding.

I know full well the impelling thoughts in any helpful organization. You seek to advance the standards of individual life; you seek to advance the standards of your common activities. You would not go into an organization if you did not think that, individually and collectively, you would be better off because of the association which you undertake. And at the same time, while that is your impelling thought I know that not a single one of you would go into any fraternity that was ever proposed

if you thought it involved the surrender of anything you hold essential to your own individual life.

I recall many an obligation that I have come in contact with in secret orders, and there isn't one that ever asked a man to surrender any of his liberties, any of his freedom of thought, any of his freedom of religious belief. And making the application of that point I want to apply it to nations. Just now we are talking very much about associations of the nations of the world. We, of America, gave first the finest illustration that was ever recorded of fraternity of nations. I like to recall it. I have spoken of it on previous occasions. Some twenty years ago, when America had first planted the flag of this Republic, with every glittering star fixed, as a banner of hope and stability in the Orient, there broke out in China what was known as the Boxer Rebellion. The rebellious Boxers in their warfare endangered all the foreign residents in the city of Peking. It became necessary to send a military expedition to the relief of those beleaguered citizens of the various nations of the earth. And I always like to recall that a son of our own State of Ohio led the military expedition, the late General Chaffee. They brought about the relief of the citizens of foreign countries imprisoned in Peking, and in a little while the military forces were withdrawn. Then representatives of the several nations engaged in that expedition sat about a table and figured out the expense of the several countries who had sent military relief. The sum presumably necessary to pay the United States for the protection of its citizens was assessed against China, and a like sum, or proportionate sum, was assessed against the government of China for Germany, for Great Britain, for France, and the other nations involved.

Later on we came to cast up the accounts in detail, and we found that the government of China had paid eight million dollars in money to the United States more than was necessary to recompense us for our military endeavors. And the United States returned that money to China, sent back eight million dollars that they had paid us in that award—the first time that such a thing was ever done in the history of the world. That was the first great illustration of a fraternal spirit among nations. And that is why China plants its faith in the example, in the democracy, in the justice of the United States of America. And we, my countrymen, are greater today by reason of the example which we then set to the world than we could ever hope to be by force of arms, no matter how large our army and navy may be.

An interesting aftermath resulted in the Peace Conference in Paris. China went into the war at our request. I do not know that you recall it but that Oriental people, at the suggestion of the State Department of our country, declared war against the Central Empire, Germany and

Austro-Hungary. And when the war settlements came about China sought to be represented at the Peace Conference and they ought to have been represented. For some reason or other they were not. Then they said, "We will trust the United States of America to represent us, with confidence in that great Republic." And yet, somehow in the Peace Conference, through contract secretly made, China had no voice in the settlement and instead of being awarded the freedom of her own people under the gospel of self-determination for which America spoke, several million of her people were delivered over to a rival nation, with the consent and approval of those who spoke for America in Paris. But when that covenant came into the United States Senate, I rejoice that there were Americans in the United States who said "No" and we did not approve of the Shantung award. And we kept the plight and faith in the lesson we taught China some twenty years ago. Now, the obligation and the fraternal thought, as I said a little while ago, is that you would not enter into any fraternal organization, no matter how high its ideals might be, if you thought it involved the surrender of anything essential to your individual existence. And that, my countrymen, men and women, is precisely the doctrine I am trying to preach just now for the United States. We want to be high and eminent and influential in the fraternity of nations. We want to play our part in the promotion and maintenance of peace throughout the world; aye, we want to play this Republic's part in assuring justice to all the world and in advancing human kind in every way we can. In America we want to contribute our part through the application of justice rather than the application of force; and if I can have my way of speaking for America we will never enter into a fraternity that is founded on force. But we do mean to play our part, our full part, along the lines of justice properly applied.

So with this new international relationship proposition, we Republicans are saying that we do not intend to go in so long as it involves the surrender of anything essential to the dignity, freedom of action, freedom of conscience of the United States of America. But we do willingly say that we want to join any association of nations for the promotion of justice, for the felicitation of international conscience; aye, for tuning the deliberate, intelligent public opinion of the world upon international controversy so that it may be settled in the applied conscience of nations rather than through military force directed by a council of foreign powers, with capacity to invite, aye, to order the sons of America into war for the protection of the boundaries of nations across the sea. That, my countrymen, America will never consent to. We have our own destiny to work out, and we in America have been working it out to the astonishment and the admiration, yes, to the inspiration, of all the world.

Here in America we have the ideal Republic. We have the most dependable popular government the world has ever recorded. You must remember that there have been republics before and they have tumbled or crumbled and become forgotten amid the conflicts of passion among the nations of the world. But here in America for a hundred and thirty-three years we have had established the greatest, the most secure Republic on the face of the earth and here in America we maintain the people's rule. It is quite possible for the people to determine upon every policy of this Republic if we cling to the Constitution, the fundamental law of the Republic.

And so I am preaching also the gospel of getting back to the Constitution and putting an end to one-man power in the United States. In your fraternity you do not allow one man to dictate the policy. You choose your leaders, but you determine policy by the vote of your membership. And if we can have our way in this campaign we are going to go on in America determining the policy of this Republic by the vote of its intelligent citizenship, doubled happily now by the addition of the conscience and the aspirations and the convictions of American womanhood. I am glad you women are coming in. Come into the parties and play your part and join in giving expression to the conscience of this wonderful land of ours.

I am grateful for your call. I like the spirit of fraternity. I am preaching it, and want it applied for the United States. Don't you think, my countrymen, we will be a little more self-respected and just a little more self-reliant if we resolve among ourselves that we of America shall determine upon the conscience and the obligations of our beloved land to the rest of the world, and apply our best thoughts and our patriotic devotion to the promotion of America first of all the nations of the earth?

A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING TO DELEGATION FROM CRAWFORD CO., OHIO, AND OTHER POINTS IN THE STATE, SEPTEMBER 23, 1920

The conservation of human resource is even more important than the conservation of material resource; but I desire to call your attention to the fact that one depends a great deal on the other, and that the two form a benevolent circle. This fact is forgotten by many persons. On the one hand, there are those with a strong sentiment to improve the conditions of the less fortunate or by a policy, even more wise, to prevent the development of unjust social conditions or low standards of health and education, and to maintain our position as a land of equal opportunity. So fixed do some of their eyes become on the human resources of America and on occasional misery and suffering, that they even become impatient with those who are working to build up by industry, wholesome business enterprise and productivity, the material resources, and consequently, the standards of living of our people.

On the other hand, there are other persons who, in the main, I believe are not heartless or selfish but who are so intent on their tasks of manufacturing and commerce, driven perhaps by that impulse for creation which is so often misinterpreted as mere money-hunger, that they forget that the men, women and children about them, sometimes in their employ, are not mere commodities and are not even mere machines to be consumed, worn out, treated without love and tossed aside, but are human beings whose welfare in the end is so intertwined with that of every other human being that the imperfections, the poor health, the neglected old age, the abused childhood, the failure of motherhood in any one of them becomes an injury and a menace to us all.

A Broadened Conscience

I say to you that we must bring together the broadened consciences of those who concentrate their attention upon our businesses and our great enterprises on the one hand and see only the vision of prosperity, and on the other, those who find in their hearts and minds no vision but that of raising the standard of health and happiness of less fortunate human beings, where such standards have fallen below those which all Americans wish to see enjoyed by all Americans.

I am glad that you have come to see me with the presentation of the facts about your field of service to America. That must be the spirit of all our citizenship—Service, a willingness to serve intelligently, to train for humane service, to cleave to an idealism of deeds and honest toil and

scientific accomplishments, rather than to serve by mere words.

I believe this spirit can be fostered best by uniting America. I believe it is best served by wiping away distinctions of class, creed, race or occupation which separate Americans from Americans. And so, today, I would like to reach all Americans with this message I am speaking to you.

I say let us awake the conscience and intelligence of the social reformer, and even of the discontents, and the agitators who, sometimes, with fine zeal for the good of mankind, nevertheless go too far and do gross harm to mankind by spreading the idea that productivity, a day's honest work, American business, and commerce are somehow the symbols of evil, of oppression, of selfishness. These are not symbols of evil, nor are business and industry, expressing the toil of head and hand, the enemies of men's welfare. They are the sources of man's welfare.

Must Awaken Conscience

We must awaken the conscience of the ignorant and the misguided to the fact that the best social welfare worker in the world is the man or woman who does an honest day's work. We must awaken their conscience to recognize that American business is not a monster, but an expression of God-given impulse to create, and the savior and the guardian of our happiness, our homes and of equal opportunity for all in America. Whatever we do for honest, humane American business, we do in the name of social welfare.

But it is equally true that we must awaken the conscience of American business to new interest in the welfare of American human beings. It is not enough for America that her business and commerce shall be honest; they must also be humane. Men, women and children of America are not commodities. To treat them as commodities is not only to forget the responsibility we owe to the brotherhood of man, but also it is to be blind to the fact that American business can not flourish nor the material prosperity of America be built upon a firm foundation until by just such work as that to which you have dedicated yourselves—by protection of health, by education, by the preservation of wholesome American motherhood and vigorous and happy American childhood, and a national humane spirit finding expression in enactment of law when need be—we insure the welfare of our human resources.

The belief which I would like to send through you to all Americans is my belief that we can not have the fullness of America until all of us turn again to love of toil and love of production, to respect for honest organization of effort and to a willingness to put all our shoulders to the wheel. But with it goes my belief that we can not have all that love, and all that respect, and all that willingness until throughout the organization of our industry and commerce there runs the flow of love of man.

A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING
TO DELEGATION OF WEST VIRGINIA CITI-
ZENS, MARION, OHIO, SEPTEMBER
24, 1920

Judge Vandervoort, Congressmen Woodyard, Fellow Americans:— I am very happy over this pilgrimage. I have, as Judge Vandervoort has said, come a good many times into your wonderful state, not only as a matter of duty but as a matter of very keen pleasure. I have come into West Virginia not alone because you are neighbors of Ohio and think and aspire as we do in the Buckeye state, but because it is good to come among the live, aspiring, achieving population of your remarkable new state. I have come there to worship at the shrine of him who made the first great impassioned stroke for modern American freedom. I delight to come among you because there is a type of citizenship in the mountains of your wonderful state that has no counterpart in all America. And I tell you, my countrymen, if the day ever comes when the spirit of America, which God forbid, should ever fade although sometimes it would seem to do so—I say, if the day ever comes when the spirit of America should seem to fade, you could go in the mountains of West Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee and still find the soul of the United States of America alive.

It has been my fortune in some twenty years of political life to do considerable campaign speaking, and I like to say it to you, I have never found any section of our glorious country so delightful and so inspiring to visit as in the mountains of West Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee.

There is another thought that has been running in my mind and which your pilgrimage today strikingly illustrates: the infinite variety of American life and the surpassing progress in American advancement. Only four years ago, not very far from the borders of West Virginia, over in the Camel's Head of the mother state, in the same mountain section, so near to you that many of your fellow citizens were present, I attended a great political meeting at Tazewell. I think there were some ten thousand persons present, and I recall distinctly the impressions made on me by seeing the scores, aye, hundreds of ox-teams come in from the mountains, and citizens on horse back and muleback, the primitive but effective transportation of the mountain section, and yet you, only four years later, come to Marion, many, many miles by motor car as the result of the development of this wonderful motor age of ours.

There is still another thought appropriate to the occasion: A good many years ago the pioneers who were developing the great state of Ohio found it necessary to travel through your section in order to reach the markets of the Atlantic seaboard. It was a very common thing for southern and eastern Ohio people to drive their cattle, indeed all their live stock, and haul their grain to the seaboard by way of West Virginia. The national road, reaching from Cumberland, Maryland, to Richmond, Ind., was one of the first conceits of government in establishing highways for trade. And though that beginning was more than a century ago, how strikingly it illustrates the waiting hours of fulfillment, for only in the last year or two has the national road become a real highway of trade and now links us together. It adds to our common interest and mutual-ity of purpose. And now today we are met, not in your pilgrimage to me as a compliment to a neighbor and friend, but as a manifestation of your interest in the purposes and policies of a great political party concerned with our common welfare.

We are in the midst of a great nation-wide campaign. I do not believe anything precisely like it could transpire anywhere else in the world. Ours is representative popular government where, under the Constitution, the American people rule. There isn't any place in this land of ours for a one-man government permanently (no one man is big enough to run the United States, much less the world). And in this campaign we are taking stock, finding out what we possess, and what we ought to do for our common welfare. We are deliberately considering the needs of America, and what our government must do for the promotion of the good of our people in every section.

Naturally enough, one section of the United States is specifically interested in one thing, and another section another thing. It has been a very interesting thing to me as a standard-bearer to note the expressions of local interest throughout the United States. For instance, the land to the south of you has suddenly discovered the very great need of the helpful Republican policy, known as the protective tariff, in order to save its peanut industry, and I am in favor of saving it—I want you to know. On our western coast California has suddenly discovered that it has need of the same favoring policy in order to save the citrus fruit industry, and I want you to know that I am in favor of saving it. West Virginia is naturally interested in the protection of the numerous industries located in your state, and I am in favor of saving those industries and holding them eminent in our American life. And we have the concern of this organized group and that, and naturally and properly we discuss the things which interest them all. That is the business of a political campaign.

We must discuss the interests of the agricultural world, because we in the United States have seen agriculture first neglected, not in intent, but because we naturally assumed that agriculture was basic and could care for itself; and then in turn we have seen American agriculture strained to meet the surpassing needs of our country in war. Further, we have seen the forces engaged in agriculture called from the field and the farm to add to our defense in war.

We have seen our transportation impaired—and nothing my countrymen, in all the developments of war, exceeded the menace which lies in impaired American transportation, and the pity of it is that not only was transportation impaired by the bungling of the national administration during the war, but it was more impaired because the administration took advantage of our country in the anxieties of war to revolutionize our economic system.

I want to say to you, and I believe I speak the thought of America, we do not believe in government ownership of railways. We do not believe in the paralyzing hand of government being placed upon any American activity that ought to be in the hands of private initiative and genius. We have witnessed inflation of the currency, enormous expansion of credits, aye, a fevered inflation of business, and, somehow, contemplating it all, America wants to get back, and I will emphasize the words "Get Back," for America wants to get back once more to stability and dependability and know where we are in the normal pursuits of this Republic.

Under these circumstances I say, and I like to repeat it, my countrymen, the republican appeal is going to continue to be to the confidence of America. We do not intend to appeal to any group prejudice. We do not intend to discuss petty things unworthy of consideration in a great national campaign.

The Republican Party wants either the confidence and faith of America, or it does not desire to assume the responsibilities of government in this trying time. The nation is too big for petty things just now. And the issues are infinitely too serious and important to be obscured by any sort of vaudeville performance on the part of anybody in this Republic.

Two enormously big questions are involved in this campaign. The first of them has been alluded to you by your spokesman, namely, to maintain the freedom of this Republic to work out its own destiny and make its own program for the advancement of the American people. The second is, the restoration of America to the stable ways of peace after the saturnalia of extravagance amid the fevered state of war. The trouble with us today is that the Democratic Party, responsible

in administration, riveted its attention on a dream across the sea, while we, of the Republican Party, are thinking of actualities in the United States.

There is a new condition in the world, and I warn you now, my countrymen, we will never return to the old pre-war conditions. Humanity has reached a higher plane. There is a new conscience in the activities of men and of nations. We have established a wage never known before in the United States; and such a wage, which is a necessary part of industrial activity, I think we ought to maintain. It is very interesting to me to note the road by which we arrived at the present state of compensation. You must remember that when the war came on the Old World took, at one time or another, more than thirty millions of men from the pursuits of productivity and turned them into agents of destruction and waste; thirty millions of men became consumers instead of producers. And when America became involved in the war—in spite of the Democratic pledge that they were keeping us out of it—we turned four millions of Americans from activities of production to that of consumption and participation in destruction. That wrought a very material change in our economic processes. Naturally, the call for manpower sent the scale of wages higher and higher.

I will give you one illustration, which may be very interesting. This war found us without shipping. Although we had shipyards and have learned in the early days of the Republic of the imperative need of ships, yet, somehow, we had neglected our shipping on the high seas until the war found us without a merchant marine. I have sometimes thought that if America had had a merchant marine comparable with her navy there would likely have never been the proposal of the submarine warfare on the seas, but Germany knew that we had no merchant marine, and they reckoned us out of any participation in the conflict in Europe. So when the war came on we had to have ships. Meanwhile the shipbuilding industry, for which we were once famous was being restored, notably on the western coast of our land. Over on the west coast, in the northern portion, they were building ships for Great Britain and the Scandinavian countries. They were building ships under the bonus-contract plan wherein they were paid excessive sums for speed. Speed was one of the expensive things of the war emergency, and because of the call for workmen in the shipyards there was a natural bidding up of wages and the skimming of the cream of workmen from many industries throughout the land. That process alone was made the wage barometer in America, and throughout the country wages advanced as the advance was made at the call of the shipyards on the west coast. We did not have the manpower necessary for our requirements, and under a very natural

and unfailing law of life, in the call for manpower we advanced competition until today America is paying the highest wage known anywhere in the world.

I want that high wage to abide, my countrymen. I have no hesitancy in saying it. But I always accompany that statement with one proviso—that I want the high wage to abide provided American workmen will give us one hundred per cent. efficiency for the wages paid.

In the call of war we took two hundred and fifty thousand workmen and turned them to building ships or the necessary outfittings for American shipping. And out of this tremendous drive for ships we builded an American merchant marine. And I want to say, in passing, that one of the great problems of the incoming administration will be to take twelve million tons of shipping, which was wrought in the war emergency, and turn it into an effective agency of widened commerce in peace.

I do not know, my countrymen, of a single failure of the present administration comparable to that of the United States Shipping Board. It has been one continual fiasco from the beginning. When the war came to an end, with the shipping at our command, we ought to have been in a position to establish immediately ship lines to all parts of the world, but today the Shipping Board is still inefficient and scarcely functioning. In this connection I want to promise you that one of the first acts of the incoming administration will be to unfurl the flag on all paths of the seas.

I know that it is in the American heart to have somebody somehow say, and say truthfully, that we are going to modify the extraordinarily high cost of living. I wish I could say something specific to you, my countrymen, on this point. It is a very easy thing to stand before a company of one's fellow countrymen and inveigh against the high cost of living, and cry out against profiteering and say we mean to bring living cost down. But I won't cheat my fellow countrymen in order to win their favor in this campaign.

I have asked, not a score, not a hundred, but hundreds of men in talking on this tremendously important subject, to tell me the one specific thing, or the many specific things, that can be done to bring this about, and I have yet to hear one man who can speak with candor and tell me the specific thing to be done. I know some means that may be harmonized in bringing about a reduction in the cost of living, and I repeat them to you: The first great contribution to the solution must be made by yourselves. You cannot expect a reduction of the cost of living under the natural operations of business so long as America continues to consume in the delirium of war extravagance. I make it a practice in my own life, if I find something more expensive than I think I can afford to buy, to decline to buy. And that is the one thing that the

American citizen can do to bring the cost of living down somewhere to a dependable figure once more. Next, increased efficiency of production. You cannot have high wages and reduced cost of production unless you have better efficiency accompany the high wages, and I care not who may attempt to challenge the statement.

In the next place, I want to preach the gospel of thrift and economy. The nation which will make the first recovery from the waste and depression of the World War will be the nation that lives thriftily and within its means. I preach the gospel of thrift for the United States.

I do not mean that I advocate a lower standard of American living. I rejoice that America can live high. But America must live within her means.

I spoke a little while ago about the motor age. Why, only a few years ago it was a dream to have a motor car. Nowadays it is such an ordinary thing that nobody thinks anything about such a possession, merely wondering about the ultimate cost of gasoline.

We do live high in the United States and I want it to continue. Indeed, my countrymen, the Republican Party stands for the policy that means maintenance of American standards. I have not the slightest objection to the standards of the world being made the same, but I do insist that when that is done, old-world standards must be lifted up to ours, and not our standards lowered to that of the old world.

Another thing that is very near my heart, and I promise you this day in all the sincerity I know, that when this enterprise succeeds, as as I believe it will on November 2nd, we are going to reduce the cost of government. And a reduced cost of government will make its very notable contribution to a lowered cost of living. Who pays the cost of government anyhow? The American people pay, no matter through what individual agency the tax check is sent. That is true of local taxation; that is true of federal taxation. And here in the United States we have seen the cost of government mount from approximately a billion dollars a year to more than thirty billion dollars a year in the prosecution of the war. And the day will never come, my countrymen, even with exacting economy on all hands, that the cost of the federal government will be less than three billion dollars a year; and even that figure isn't possible to the Democratic Party, more concerned with keeping its partisans in office than serving the welfare of the American people.

When I am elected I promise you there are going to be hundreds of thousands of Americans, in Washington and elsewhere in the service of the government, go back home to take their places in the activities of production.

You must remember that America has not only expanded the func-

tions of government but we have an enormous war debt to meet, annual interest thereon to pay, and it is going to require, during the next few years, a business administration comparable to that which makes a success of private enterprise, to put the government on the right track once more.

There is another phase of the situation. As a Republican, I like to think that up to the time of the Wilson administration, with its new freedom, one never knew that he paid a federal tax. Under the Republican policy of protection we made the foreigner pay so much for the privilege of trading in American markets that we did not have to assess our own people directly to carry on the functions of government. Then the Wilson administration came in and changed all that. They asked us to sharpen our wits in competition with the world—indeed, we did sharpen them, but we dulled our activities, and at the time the war broke out, we were fast approaching industrial paralysis in the United States. In my home city, here in Marion, one factory laid off fifty per cent of its employes, and we were fast paying the penalty of Democratic control of government, when the World War broke out and erected a protective barrier that fostered American trade such as no Republican tariff policy could ever accomplish.

But now, with a cessation of hostilities, that barrier has been removed and there is the problem of the world restoring itself economically and financially. Very naturally, the process of restoration is to turn to production, and to sell, and the most natural thing in the world is to sell to the nation most able to buy. We in America are the most solvent nation in all the world, so all the nations of the Old World, war born and ambitious for restoration want to sell to the United States. And I am willing to buy of them, my countrymen, so long as it does not involve the destruction of American industry to do it. I want our people to buy of them so that we can facilitate the payment of the war debts created by the loans made to the nations in the Old World, but I had rather postpone indefinitely the liquidation of our war loans than to bring about paralysis in America in order to cancel them. I want to cling to that American policy which prospers the United States first. I want to cling to that American policy which thinks of American good fortune first. Aye, I stand for that American policy that has confidence in America determining her own course in contributing to the welfare of mankind and the promotion of justice and peace throughout the world.

There are a good many problems which need our solving. I cannot stop to enumerate all the weaknesses. Here in America we have builded industrially to the wonder of the world. In Marion, Ohio, and in West Virginia, we have not come to fully sense the problems of the great

centers of population. I have only recently come myself to know how lacking I have been in understanding the problems of the great cities. There they have their housing problems. There they have the necessary activities to make the people who live in crowded tenements, more especially the women and children, so live and develop that they may embrace the fullness of American opportunity. So here in the United States one of the great problems we have is the housing of American citizenship and restoring to the American farm the forces necessary to continued upbuilding and advancement agriculturally. And we have all the problems incident to developing men and women to the highest human attainment.

Men and women of West Virginia, I know the limitless possibilities of your state. I do not know of one in all the Union where nature has blessed its people so bountifully. But possibilities in resources are not enough. If possibilities in resources accomplished the making of a great people Mexico would have outstripped us in the race for human achievement. Indeed, industry alone does not work the marvel. If industry were the explanation of human progress and accomplishment, China would have outstripped all the peoples of the world because there is not so industrious a people anywhere else on earth. But it is the combination of resources and industry and genius, and the work of men and women in the encouragement of American opportunity, that works the marvel. And I want to commit America to the continued development and the continued triumph that comes from resources, industry and genius in this land of beckoning opportunity.

Man never accomplishes anything until he begins to exchange of his products, and the balance of trade in exchange for individuals, companies or nations is the one great thing that makes for human enrichment.

What is the working man's part in life? He sells his labor as his commodity, and the cost of living is the base of his activities. If he earns \$25 per week—and I am taking an arbitrary figure that is too small nowadays—but if he earns \$25 a week and it costs him \$20 a week to live, he has \$5 balance of trade to his credit. If he earns \$50 weekly and it costs him \$45 to live he still has \$5 balance of trade.

The factory's balance of trade is the difference between its cost of producing a certain thing and the sum for which it sells. And American balance of trade is the difference between what we sell to other nations and what we buy from them. And under fostering Republican policies we enrich America with a favorable balance of trade, and this balance prior to the war had reached the sum of two billions of dollars a year. But under Democratic policies up to the time immediately preceding the

war the balance of trade had vanished entirely, and again under war activities it mounted at the peak to something like six billions of dollars a year. Today, after the demands of war have subsided, our balance of trade is going down, down and down, until at the present ratio of exchange we are having a favorable balance of only about half a billion a year.

I want to turn, my countrymen, once more to the policy that maintains for America a favorable balance of trade, because with our resources and our activities and our aspirations we ought to be not only the greatest producing but the greatest exporting nation on the face of the earth. So I cling to the policy that proposes American markets for American production first—not in that narrow selfishness that some proclaim it to be, but to fix a firm foundation for the good fortunes of the people of the United States, on which we shall build the ideal Republic, and then exert our influence throughout the world by the force of American example. I do not think that all life is founded on material gain, but I do know that material gain is the ever-impelling inspiration. And I want the men and women of America to have a fair chance for their material gain, and then in the efforts of all we shall work out our highest attainment. I want the people of our land, under the guarantees of the constitution, to work out their own destiny, and I want America to work out in her own way our relationships with the world. I have no fear of our pursuing a narrow or selfish way. America would not do that if she could, and America could not do that if she would.

I like to recall that before any compact was proposed around the council table at Paris, America was giving of her generosity, America was giving of her influence, America was giving of her abundance to the relief of mankind throughout the universe. Aye, and without any compact wherein a foreign council could call us to war, we went into the World War and performed our part and helped to win it, because we found our own nationality threatened on the one hand, and civilization threatened on the other. Don't you think, my countrymen, we can trust America to find its own way? I believe we are so committed to all that it is beautiful in justice and fine example that America will go on inspiring and leading the world in the future just as we have in the past.

Who wrought the transformation from autocracy to democracy? The example of the American Republic founded a hundred and thirty-three years ago, has been an inspiration to aspiring peoples throughout the world. Under the influence of war example we have seen kingdoms fall and autocracies crumble and democracies rise. And we mean, my countrymen, in this hour of world anxiety, to give to humanity, the

example of a stable democracy, a representative democracy, under the American Constitution. And we mean to say to the world, "Go on," America is ever ready to play her part, but under the direction of our own American conscience.

A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING TO DELEGATION OF TRAVELING SALES- MEN, MARION, OHIO, SEPTEMBER, 25, 1920

My Countrymen: Long before money was a dependable means of exchange, long before banks and clearing houses were even thought of the barterers of trade were the advance agents expanding civilization. The primitive man produced from the soil for his own sustenance, but when he began turning nature's bounty into surpluses, people undertook their exchanges, and the exchange of products was attended by an exchange of ideas, and the world developed and advanced accordingly. It was in these exchanges that the first traveling men of all civilization became the ambassadors of education and art, the bearers of ideas, and the surveyors of the widened fields of human relationships. The paths of cargoes were the highways of exchanging ideas, and the men who bought and sold, the traveling men of old, were the foremost exponents of the world's commerce and its attending civilization.

The traveling men of today maintain their eminent relationship to the life and progress of our people. Business is the life blood of the nation, and these business agents are unailing in their reflex of progressive thought and the convictions of the American people. We find them everywhere, always alert, always pushing ahead, always eager to add to the volume of business which is the barometer of our material good fortune and the base of all our boasted attainments.

As American First

But I do not mean to address you especially as commercial travelers, but rather as Americans first. I do not ask that you, who can carry further than any other body of men a message to the American people, shall carry any part of a message in which you do not yourselves believe, with full heart and with calm thinking, is for the good of the whole of the American people. I would not dwell upon criticism of the conditions brought about by nearly eight years of mismanagement of the United States if it were not necessary to take some account of where we now stand so that we may wisely bring America again to her main road, and restore prosperity and give promise to the laborer, who gives us the prod-

ucts of soil andⁿtoil, that we shall not have in the United States a "NO HOUR DAY."

I know pretty well, from more or less contact with commercial travelers, during a third of a century of business life, how it is in the heart of each to further the work which is his task. It is in this untiring devotion, this never-ending activity, enhanced by other attributes, that success is achieved. I want the commercial travelers of the one big house—this Republic of ours—always to be thinking of America first.

But I know what is in your minds today—your practical thought. You want stability once more for American business. You want normal conditions. You want that confidence and security which will put an end to anxiety about production; an end to fear about buying; an end to uncertainty about delivery or distribution. No abiding commercial edifice was ever builded on the changing sands of uncertainty.

Free From Abuse

In deploring present-day conditions, I do not mean to indulge in abuse which can bear no good fruit, nor in criticism which can only result in contention. Undeniably, there is a feeling permeating the American mind that great harm has been done by unwise heads and prodigal hands. In seeking the correction, the party for which I speak means to appeal to the confidence and the sober convictions of America, else we do not wish to be committed to the enormous tasks before us. We want this confidence and conviction of America because we need the will of the people in the sought-for solution.

I believe that everywhere in the land there is the opinion that we have had enough of government excessively centralized in executive powers; enough of autocratic government unwilling to heed counsel and advice; enough of government which ignores the representative branch and its close contact with the popular will. I want it very explicitly understood that my election to the executive office means a complete change from the one-man policy which has characterized our national government during the past seven years.

Driven Toward Chaos

We have been driven toward chaos, I believe, not only by the unsuccessful attempts made to mortgage American rights, American fortunes and the American conscience abroad, and to check American nationality and American honor at the cloak room of the President's league of nations in Geneva, but we have been driven toward chaos at home. It becomes necessary for us calmly to take account of stock, and I believe that this has been done already by the American people.

I believe that they are cognizant of the terrible wastes which came from our unpreparedness for war and our unpreparedness for peace. I

believe that the American people know full well that while an administrative voice was preaching the courses of conduct to foreign nations our own home affairs were being so neglected that we well-nigh set a bad example, rather than a good example, to all mankind.

I believe that the people of America need not to be told that they pay the bills of administrative government whose distension for war still remains over-distended for peace. It has become common knowledge that there are between seven hundred and eight hundred thousand persons on the pay-roll of the United States, who will be kept there, of course, unless we have a new management, because the party which hired will never be the party to bring the number of excess employes down again toward the four hundred and forty thousand who were on the pay-roll in 1916. The people know very well that only an intelligent opposition prevented the present administration from making an expenditure of over eleven billions of dollars in a peace year, and the eleven billions would have been a reasonably large draft upon a people who in 1916 paid one billion dollars for their current expenses of government. The people know that only Republican opposition to this reckless program reduced the appropriations by more than one-third and saved to the people of the United States, who directly as tax-payers, or indirectly as consumers, bear the load, an amount greater than the whole cost of the Civil War.

The people know already that when the war came upon us American business was facing disruption and the American workingman unemployment, and that another year of folly now would mean industrial plants cold in idleness and laborers walking among them looking in vain for the joy of a day's productive work.

Almost Cost of Civil War

The tax-payers know full well that the Democratic administration of the American railways cost the people of this country an amount almost equal to the amount spent by us from 1861 to 1865 to preserve the Union. The people are just beginning to learn that the action of the Democratic administration stood in the way of purchasing from Cuba a sugar crop at six and one-half cents a pound, and of saving to the people of the United States nearly a billion dollars. The people have seen an administration which is lavish in executive orders, utterly fail to know enough about the reason for the high price of coal to give the American people a clear answer as to why that price is mounting.

In good sense, and in good conscience, it has been necessary for all of us to recognize that we have been dragged toward chaos. A nation which prides itself upon its business sense has been forced to see its government, which badly needed efficiency and reorganization, twisted into a monstrosity of waste and slipshoddiness. And that administration,

almost innocent, we may say, of business principle, has not stopped there, but has gone afield to meddle abroad in such a way as to create enmity, where its meddling has been uninvited, and to create dissension at home among our population of foreign blood. But that is not all—an administration which could not attend to its own business well, with new economic theories, with experiments, with activities in which it was never intended government should participate, and with laws and executive orders which failed to curb profiteering or contribute to our high standard of American business, has reached out its hindering hands in menace to American business and American prosperity.

Must Turn Away

From that unfortunate picture we must now turn away. We must set our faces toward the tasks before us. We must bravely meet our practical problems, so long neglected, while we have been gazing upon impractical visions. I look forward to an America, where all Americans will put their shoulders to the wheel and in a united purpose restore their nation to the course of good sense on which progress must and will be made, by deeds rather than by words.

Is it then not a high purpose, indeed, even though it may be a simple one, to do the primary work of this Nation well? It is a very practical, every-day problem to make well done our task at home. When through you I hope to spread into all corners of America a program of efficiency, am I not asking for that idealism which goes forward to lay brick upon brick, rather than to place a capstone in the air?

We have, I have said, great tasks before us, and my first principle of performance in any task is to summon the best counsel that can be drawn from any activity or any quarter of America. In going forward to propose, create or take our becoming part in a reconstructed association of nations, we need the counsel of the wisest of all America. In restoring American agriculture to health, we will need the counsel of the farmers. In putting American business again upon steady feet, so that it may serve the welfare of all of us, so that business may learn the way of peace between employer and employee and maintain fair play in service to the consumer, we need the counsel of all the elements best fitted to guide us. We need in the reorganization of our government and in the prevention of waste in Washington, and in obtaining guarantees that there shall be no more prodigality, the help of the engineer, the trained technical man and the abilities which may be drawn from the skill of the great industrial executive and the common sense of the toiler. Of one-man judgment we have had enough. We call aloud again for the meeting of minds of a united country.

Our Joint Wisdom

It is my belief that our joint wisdom will stand behind the principles which I have been chosen to represent. It is because you are the fore-runners of activity, of our economic life, of American business, which is not big business, but everybody's business, that I speak particularly of those principles which we propose shall be applied to the treatment of American business by the government's good sense, and also the treatment which the government so badly needs by American business sense.

I like to think of a government which guarantees to the people of the United States the maintenance of a high standard of business honor, which preserves fair competition and acts effectively to check profiteering and discourage wasteful methods of marketing and distribution. But I like to think of a government friendly to American business and unwilling to indulge itself in mere irritating suspicion and interference. I look forward to a government which will have the sense to keep out of activities which good old American genius and initiative can do better. I look forward to a government which will gain more information, and have more influence in American business, because it is the friend of American business. I look forward to a government which will invite American business to give it confidence and its confidences. I do not want to see American government engaging in American business, but I do want to see American government a friend and a partner of American business. I want to see the government a partner of American business in the development of overseas trade and in the full protection of Americans abroad. I want to see the government the partner of American business, and of the American business man, and of the American laborer, in the protection by tariff, whenever the need occurs, of American business and American standards of living at home.

American Business Efficiency

I look forward to another phase of this partnership. I want to see American business, its methods and its efficiency in American government. I look forward to such a cessation of wastes and extravagance in Washington as will allow us to cut down taxation, as for instance, the excess profits tax, without requiring any other tax demand on the people of this country. I look forward to a working budget system to disclose the leaks and inefficiency. We need organization of departments to stop over-lapping of functions and the expenditure of useless energies and funds. I have often said, and I say again, that we owe it to the people of the United States to put our postal department back upon a business basis to provide the most efficient business service.

We must learn to pay enough to keep in the service of the government, useful, faithful and loyal employees and to promote them upon

their merits, just as we must take off the payroll of the government useless employees who are needed in productive occupations.

It is this expression, my countrymen, addressed to all Americans, which I ask you to carry away wherever you go—you who are the pioneers of America's high standard of living and should ceaselessly make possible the distribution of the fruits of science, of genius, and of the sweat and toil of labor.

I desire with all my heart that you shall tell the American people that I, as all true Americans, believe as firmly in the idealism of doing well the tasks which are set before us as I disbelieve in idealism whose only results are discontent, prodigality and disappointment. All who love America the best will believe in the idealism which is "not too proud to work."

We Americans turn our faces toward an idealism which conceives that the rights of citizenship are founded only upon the obligations of citizenship; that the rights to enjoy are founded only upon the obligations to produce. We believe in an idealism based upon such sense that it does not treat the nation's business with suspicion and contempt, but in the kind of idealism that sees in America's business the every-day tasks of the American people, which sees in it the labor of a nation, which sees in it the hope of high standards of living, which sees in it the preservation of equal opportunity for every man, woman and child, which sees American business to be the great fabric of our activity, woven by threads of every human being's effort. This fabric can not be treated with contempt; it is one of the greatest offerings that a united people can make to God.

A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING AT BALTIMORE, SEPTEMBER 27, 1920

Fellow-Americans: It is a great privilege to meet this assemblage. Maryland has a large place in the consciousness of America. Your citizenship has been identified with stirring events in our country's history. You are adding richly to our national store of learning and letters. For many of us, the teeming waters and fruitful shores of Maryland have long made existence more gracious.

But your city and your state have come to stand for sterner things. America looks upon a newly-set stage today. The old order has passed, never to return. The World War has wrought changes as stupendous in the economic intercourse of nations as in their political relations. Our commerce, our trade, our agriculture, our industry, our finance—all are different, in their present phase and in their future prospect, because of the war and its aftermath. Old contacts have been broken, new forces have been aroused. There has been a shift in vital centers, and cities, like individuals, are facing new opportunities, and greater responsibilities.

It needs no effort to realize how Baltimore is seeking to meet this changed requirement. A more intense industrial life, a growing population, a larger area, a busy waterfront—forerunner of an expanding commerce—an alert readiness to engage in business venture and trade enterprise—these are the swift impressions which crowd upon one, coming as I do for a hurried visit.

Much of what you may hereafter do will depend, as heretofore, on yourselves—on your energy, your enterprise, your business talent and your industrial fidelity. But a large part will depend on the setting within which your efforts are staged, on the governmental policies which are to be initiated, on the administrative practices which are to be carried out—policies and practices of the government at Washington as to finance, taxation, price levels, credit supply, business regulations, tariff adjustments.

Unpreparedness for Peace

This is the warrant for my presence here this evening. It is to make clear to you—men and women of Maryland—that there are certain things—to only a very few of which I shall be able to refer—upon which, almost to a peculiar degree, the well-being of your city and your state, and the happiness of you who live herein depend, and as to which there should be, on the part of governmental authority, prompt, earnest and sympathetic regard.

Just as at the outbreak of the war, with the country's safety at stake, you, as a great industrial center, swiftly mobilized your resources of men and materials in the nation's defense—so since the armistice you have wrestled with the task of beating swords into plough-shares. It has been a task made harder and costlier by the unconcern and ineptitude of governmental practice. Much as the present administration has to answer for as to its unpreparedness for war—even more culpable has been its deliberate unpreparedness for peace.

War, however protracted its length and ruthless its course, must eventually come to an end. Wise statesmanship will prepare for the inevitable ending before it comes; taking counsel as to how the passing from a war-time to a peace-time basis may be effected at least cost. With characteristic far-sightedness, Great Britain appointed committees of reconstruction as far back as 1916—actually two years before the armistice, at a time when the end of the struggle still seemed far off. Others of the allies took like measures of precaution, with the most favorable results.

President Rejects Suggestion

Only in the United States was there neither provision nor preparation. Not a plan was fashioned, not a provision was made, before—or indeed after—the armistice, to bridge the passing from war to peace. This was no mere oversight, but deliberate avoidance. In September, 1918, an earnest attempt was made in the Senate, under Republican sponsorship, to create by concurrent resolution a joint Congressional committee on reconstruction, with ample powers of inquiry and report. Encountering favorable reception in Congress, from members of both parties, the proposal met prompt quietus in the President's blunt disfavor of any form of Congressional advice or suggestion as to after-war policies.

The result was that the signing of the armistice ushered in a veritable condition of "save who can" in our economic life. Industry, commerce, labor, finance—all were left to struggle and drift, while the administration was intent on an unavailing pursuit of an international super-government and concerned as to domestic affairs only in detached opportunism.

It is entirely within bounds to insist that had there been a careful preparatory survey of the problems certain to present themselves as the Nation demobilized, we should have escaped many of the trials to which we have been subjected in the past two years and from the evil possibilities of which we are even now far from free.

Material Help

It would have been practicable to have effected, with far greater con-

sideration and far less dislocation, the return of the four million men gathered in the Nation's defense, to their accustomed places in farms and factories.

The acute distress of housing shortage, consequent upon the greatly hindered building operations for four years, might have been measurably relieved by making systematically available the information on the subject of housing construction collected during the war, and this without departing from established principles of federal action.

The transition from widespread price control to free markets—a transition calling for all the skillful treatment which any notable interference with free contract entails—need not have been left to take care of itself by a virtual policy of scuttle, or to bungling and vacillating meddling.

The huge unused stocks of essential materials and food-stuffs, contracted for or in the hands of the government at the signing of the armistice, would not have been alternately impounded and released, after a long delay, without method or plan, and in ways that served neither the interest of the producer nor the need of the consumer.

Wiser and Sounder Practices

Most of all, wiser and sounder practices of post-war financing might have been initiated that would have saved us from the pressure of ever-higher living costs, from the fever of business inflation, from the accumulation of a burdensome floating debt, from the retention of crudely-devised, inefficiently-administered war taxes, and from the present necessity of credit restriction and business inconvenience.

None of this is the wisdom of hindsight. In each particular—and the list might be made very much longer—we have suffered, over and above the costs and burdens of a great world convulsion, unnecessary penalties because of the unwillingness of the administration to concern itself with the vital domestic problems which reason and experience taught us must lay ahead.

Were our resources less bounteous, our energies less resilient, our faith less strong, there would be a heavy toll still to be paid for this neglect. As it is, we shall take our losses bravely, but grimly—with a resolute determination that a new order must be ushered in; that without neglecting our part in the world's progress, our concern shall hereafter be "America First." This is said in no selfish, provincial spirit, in no thought of aloofness, but in the firm intent that only by making this land of ours great and its people prosperous shall we render the largest service to civilization and to humanity.

Generously Endowed

Baltimore and Maryland will play their part in this increase and bet-

terment. Nature has endowed you generously, and you will not waste your heritage. Your manufactureres, your trade, your finance—are firmly established, and there is certain to be growth and expansion, so long as our national policy is one to send America forward.

I venture to say that it is in commerce that your greater opportunity lies. Your strategically-favorable location, your water front and water ways, your fine commercial traditions—place you in a position here to render important service to your country and to acquire signal advantage for yourselves, and to add to American eminence.

No nation in all time ever came into great influence in the world excepting as it grew to eminence in the commerce between peoples. The fascinating story of world civilization is marked in every chapter by the stamp of maritime development.

There was a time when we outsailed the world. I delight in the romance of the "Clippers" of three-quarters of a century ago, when American sailors were as daring and triumphant in peace as John Paul Jones was in war.

A Distinction Lost

But we did not cling to our American distinction. We did not follow our invention of the steamship with a continued development and maintenance of steamship lines. We ceased to be carriers of our own trade, and we encouraged our rivals by our own neglect. We neglected our navy until that great Democrat, Grover Cleveland, gave us an awakening in his reverence for the Monroe doctrine, which a present-day Democrat does not understand. I have a strong conviction that if our country had been as strong with its merchant marine as it was powerful in naval defense, our voice in behalf of peace would have been more quickly heeded.

The war gave us the great awakening. America means to take her place as a sea carrier, not for ourselves alone, but to serve the world. We have the ships; we have the seamen; we have the cargoes; we mean to unfurl "Old Glory" on the peaceful paths of the seas.

The day and the hour have arrived for operation and the maintenance of a great American merchant marine. We have the initial legislation, and need now only effective administration, backed by American determination, to hold our rightful place as a maritime nation.

Important Piece of Legislation

The merchant marine act of 1920, prepared under Republican leadership and passed by a Republican Congress, can be fairly described as one of the most important laws enacted in our generation. Like every pioneer undertaking, it has defects and shortcomings which time will disclose and experience enable us to repair. But as a legislative project, conceived in

the broadest spirit of national up-building, it stands forth as a great constructive achievement.

The purpose of the measure is, in a sentence, "the promotion and maintenance of a merchant marine of the best type of modern ships, flying the American flag, manned by American seamen, owned by private capital and operated by private energy, fulfilling a national inspiration."

The phenomenal emergence of a great American merchant marine is one of the most striking economic consequences of the World War. In 1914, the total tonnage registered for foreign trade under the American flag was 1,066,000 gross tons; today, thanks to the quick sense of the American people as to the critical importance of shipping in the World War, and to the invincible genius of American industry in surmounting governmental delay and administrative inefficiency, there is ready for our flag some 12,500,000 gross tons of sea-going vessels.

This importance of our new merchant marine is not alone that it salvages and puts to use a vast and costly body of war material, nor even that it adds a great new activity to the nation's business life, as well as a wholesome safeguard to the country's security; but, more significant still, it provides the mechanism wherewith we can retain and enlarge the economic vantage ground in world commerce and world finance which we now enjoy.

For Trade Development

A well-equipped merchant marine is a prime essential of successful commerce; it is the best agency of trade development. Nothing else will supply the same enterprises in the search for new markets, nor contribute the same energy in the opening up of new trade routes, nor offer the same encouragement for the investment abroad of our surplus capital. Overseas transportation in American bottoms is of the root and essence of American commercial expansion.

How urgent is the need will appear if we consider the new position of our Country in the world trade. In five years we have changed from a debtor nation, owing the world between four and five billion dollars with a varying annual trade balance, sometimes against us, to a creditor nation to whom the world is in debt on capital account some twelve billion dollars, and to whom is due an annual credit balance certainly as great, probably much greater, than our prior debit balance.

It is of the gravest national concern that this changed international position shall not work to the injury of our industrial and agricultural life. We are not prepared to wipe from our books Europe's debt to us—even in the unlikely event that this were seriously proposed, or would be accepted by debtor nations. Still less practicable is the discharge of the enormous indebtedness by wholesale gold imports. Larger exports of

merchandise from the debtor to the creditor country remain as the line of least resistance, and to this course we must be prepared to see Europe bending every effort. It is the natural way in which restorations from war must be wrought.

Flood of Imports

But a flood of imports from debtor countries intent upon stimulating their productive output, and aided, even though undesignedly, by an unfavorable foreign exchange, would be a bitter experience for the creditor country. We mean to deal considerately, we want to help, but we do not mean to paralyze America to effect a restoration.

It would be incomparably better for our credits to remain uncollected, and our balances to be waived, than for liquidation to take the form of an undermining flood of imports—whether products of factory, mine or farm—that would cripple American industry, degrade American labor and weaken our whole economic fabric.

From any such invasion we have a right to be saved. Our new merchant marine will do much to avert it. Supplemented, now and whenever occasion requires, by a cautious revision of the tariff, that, while regardful of our changed international position, will effectually safeguard every phase of American industry and agriculture, the new shipping development will become a potent element in American economic growth without the accompaniment of social injury.

New Industries Spring Up

In Maryland, as in many other sections of the country, new industries have sprung up in the war years, sometimes directly related to war needs, more often to supply goods which we had been in the habit of buying abroad, but which commercial blockade and trade interruption had kept from us. We were called to self-reliance.

Into these new factories and mills, fields and mines, the productive energy of American enterprise has poured. To them have been drawn large bodies of workmen, receiving favorable wages and providing decent living standards for themselves and their families. These men have been moved by an enlightened self-interest. But they have added to the nation's strength and its well-being. Moreover, they are of the substance of which American industrial greatness is built—courageous and self-reliant. They clamor for no favor; they stand ready to face the recurring business cycles of good and bad times. But they ask for fair play; that the government which has sanctioned their rise and encouraged their growth shall not now be passive witness to their undoing by an abrupt competitive invasion, whether in the form of "dumping" or stimulated foreign production, which they are neither mature nor strong

enough to resist, and which America does not mean to ask that they shall resist. Prosper "America First!"

Proper protection, American industry and American labor have the right to expect. This much they should properly receive. It would be an intolerable thing if we stood by and beheld our enterprise impaired and our labor injured. If it be placed in responsible control in the November election, the Republican Party solemnly engages that this shall not come to pass. The stability of American industry, the prosperity of American agriculture, the security of American labor—these shall be its purpose—to be achieved by deliberate tariff revision, protective revision, whenever and wherever the necessity exists.

After all, we may never forget that men and not things are the end for which our government exists. The bigness of a country or of a state counts for little, if those who live in it are stunted and cramped, not from their own fault, but because fair chance is denied them. We boast proudly of America as "The Land of Opportunity." Let us see to it that those to whom industrial opportunity has been given and who have sought to embrace it, be not thereafter despoiled by our neglect and disregard, but held capable of embracing beckoning opportunity.

Allegiance to Principle

With that recklessness which is the excuse for loose thinking, spokesmen of the Democratic Party have stigmatized the Republican platform as "reactionary." Like many another epithet, the term seeks to malign by abuse what it can not indict by reason.

It is true that in political affairs we would "re-act" from an era of executive usurpation to the orderly form of constitutional government; that in industrial relations we would "re-act" from an internationalist's obsession to intimate concern in our domestic problems and our home tasks; that in social matters we would "re-act" from a muddling of the public mind to an honest avowal of facts and causes. But in all that makes for economic stability, for industrial justice, for social improvement—our faces are toward the morrow.

The party of Lincoln and of Roosevelt stands sharply aligned with its finest traditions in that which touches man's duty to man. Forward-looking, progressive, unswerving in devotion to constitutional government, resentful of executive absolutism—it proclaims unflinching allegiance to the great principles of justice and humanity upon which this Republic was founded, and from which, pray God, we shall never depart.

A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING AT WHEELING, W. VA., SEPTEMBER 28, 1920

Government is a political and not a business agency, but it does a good deal of business, nevertheless. The business of our government is enormous in extent and is constantly growing greater and more complex. It is carried on, however, by methods so crude, so wanting in plan and system, that if it were a private business of equal magnitude with fixed resources, instead of public business with well-nigh unlimited resources, we should have gone into liquidation and closed our doors long ago. No private business can possibly survive without keeping its expenditures within the limits of its income, but the government goes on, year after year, with no real effort to maintain the balance between income and outgo. No business can be carried on successfully without a strict application of business methods, and government business presents no exception to the rule. Hence it is that this government of ours, in its financial and business operations, would long ago have proved a colossal failure were it not for the power which it possesses to take from the pockets of the people unlimited monies to renew the lavish stream which flows from its treasury.

Not only are we not living within our means in spite of an almost unbearable burden of taxation, but we are constantly adding to our public indebtedness and thereby passing on to our children a constantly-growing obligation to be met by an ever-increasing exaction from the resources of the people.

To Increase the Burden

The most recent suggestion for increasing this burden of debt is that the secretary of the treasury contemplates putting out a new loan in a series of notes aggregating about \$400,000,000. It is to be offered in the form of treasury certificates bearing interest at $5\frac{3}{4}$ and six per cent. The secretary accompanies his announcement of this loan to the banks with a circular letter in which he reveals some very interesting information respecting the financial condition of the treasury. This information, to be exact, is that in the first two months of the current year—that is, the months of July and August—our expenditures exceeded our receipts by the enormous sum of \$125,305,710.63. The receipts of the government during those two months approximated \$628,767,191.13 and its expenditures \$754,072,901.76.

The secretary's letter further indicates that, notwithstanding the

optimistic predictions of the administration a few weeks ago that the peak of the national debt had been passed, the national debt in fact was materially increased during these two months. On August 31, the debt was \$24,324,672,123.00 as against \$24,299,321,467.00 on June 30.

Thus we stand, nearly two years after the close of the war, with our expenditures still exceeding our income at a rate which, if continued, will approximate a billion dollars a year, and with our national debt increasing, instead of decreasing.

Saved by Congress

Pursuing figures a little further, we discover that, while the administration is creating a deficit at a rate which approaches a billion dollars a year, but for a Republican Congress the deficit would be more nearly three billions than one. It is a matter of record that the present Democratic administration requested Congress to appropriate for its purposes during the current fiscal year, the enormous sum of \$5,685,812,929. A Republican Congress, after an investigation of these demands, appropriated \$4,373,395,279, thereby effecting a saving for the tax-payers of more than \$1,312,000,000. This same Congress, at the special session immediately preceding, denied requests of the Democratic administration for excessive appropriations aggregating more than \$1,685,000,000.

Where would we be today, if it had not been for this Republican Congress, which in the space of less than two years, has reduced appropriations by billions of dollars while the Democratic administration which sought these enormous sums has been spending money at the rate of a billion dollars a year beyond the amounts actually appropriated by Congress?

In the face of these facts, our opponents have had the temerity to charge the Republican Congress with extravagance. Passing the obvious conclusion that if our appropriations were too large democratic expenditures greatly exceeding them must be utterly inexcusable, what shall be said of the demands of the administration for appropriations vastly exceeding either what we authorized or what they spent? If the appropriations made by the Republican Congress may be fittingly characterized as "extravagant," where shall we find an adjective with which to characterize the demands of the administration for sums exceeding them by almost three billion dollars?

Increases the Cost

It has become imperative for us to inquire into the reasons for these tremendous deficits, these requests for enormous appropriations, and this present necessity for the government to go into the open market and compete with legitimate private business for money at high interest rates. It is obvious that when the government of the United States of-

fers $5\frac{3}{4}$ and 6 per cent. for money, the effect is to drive higher and higher the interest rates on industrial and business loans, and thereby to increase the cost of doing business and consequently the cost of living. By offering these rates, with tax-free privileges attached thereto, the government is not only drawing out of the banks of the country large sums which otherwise would serve to supply the insistent needs of industry, but is also contributing to the already alarming depreciation of its own Liberty bonds purchased at par by a patriotic people for the winning of the war. Industrial reports from one end of the country to the other indicate a falling-off in business, an increase in the interest rate charged to business men for legitimate commercial and industrial loans, a stringency in the money market, a dearth in building, while many in the country find it impossible to get homes suitable for their accommodation. These conditions are due, either directly or indirectly, to the gigantic failure of the present Democratic administration to function as a business organization. It has drawn the very life blood from the channels of business to keep itself alive—a process which, if continued, will inevitably produce a collapse of our industrial system.

Without a Workable Plan

The reason for this is simple. The administration went into the world war without any workable plan of finance. It came out of the war without such a plan. It still is without such a plan. Only last June, through its directing head, the president of the United States, it rejected such a plan when Congress sought to furnish it with one.

Brigadier General H. M. Lord, the director of finance in the war department, when testifying before the house budget committee, said:

“The war department since April 6, 1917, has had appropriated for its use \$24,304,388,343.97.

“The war department entered this war without any fixed and determined or carefully-digested and prepared financial system. It was impossible under the statutory organization existing to have such a system.”

General Lord pointed out that at the beginning there were five statutory bureaus within the war department, each independent of the other; each making its own contracts, doing its own purchasing, making its own disbursements, and doing its own accounting, with as many different methods as there were bureaus.

“As a result,” he said “they were competing with each other in a field, in a market, where the supplies in many cases for which they were competing were restricted in amount. Later on these five independent bureaus were increased to twelve, each proceeding in the same way.”

What General Lord said of the war department was true practically

of every other department, and of government as a whole during the war. It is just as true today as when he said it several months ago.

It was to bring order out of this confusion that the Republican House and the Republican Senate appointed special committees to consider the need and the creation of a national budget system—a system which at one stroke would give us a sound plan of fiscal administration and provide for a real audit of our governmental expenditures each year.

Vetoed by President

The two committees, after months of earnest work, formulated a bill to give our government a real business system. Their work done, the measure drawn, they submitted it to the two Houses of Congress which after amendment and conference, approved it without a single dissenting vote and sent it to the White House. There it lay for days—until the closing hours of the session of Congress—when it came back with the presidential veto—a veto which did not relate to its great constructive features, but to a small detail of partisan politics. In the short time left for them to act before Congress adjourned, the committees revised the bill in the slight particular, submitted it to their respective Houses, only to have it killed in the Senate by a filibuster conducted by three Democratic Senators.

We have heard during the last few days from the Democratic administration at Washington that it needs money, more money, always more money, to maintain the government for the current year.

And during these same days we have heard from a Democratic candidate, who has announced himself to be in entire accord with the head of this Democratic administration, that if he is elected to the presidency he will give to the people of this country a budget system such as the present president, with whom he says he is in accord, rejected only last June.

Economy is Scorned

Let me speak for a moment of the years which are just behind us. Until the World War came it was easy for the government to make a good showing—a good financial statement. I should say—though those in charge gave little attention to the way money was raised and even less the way it was spent. Our country was rich, our people were generous. They did not object to taxation. In fact, the great majority hardly knew they were being taxed at all because of our Republican methods of indirect taxation. It was difficult to get officials in Washington or the people generally to heed the trend of the times.

When I say it was difficult to get the officials in Washington to take notice, I must make an exception. President Taft, a sincere advocate of governmental efficiency, appointed a commission of efficiency and

economy to study means of increasing the efficiency of the government and reducing the cost to the tax-payers. This commission reported at a time when the country was in a state of political turmoil. Its report, tremendously valuable in the information it contained and in the suggestions it put forth, was completely lost sight of during the stress of one of the bitterest campaigns in the political history of America. Mr. Taft went out of office. His successor was pledged by his party platform to a return to simplicity in government and to a reduction in the expenditures of the government, but he promptly cast aside the report of the Taft efficiency and economy commission as well as the Democratic platform which pledged economy and efficiency. Governmental expenditures continued to mount upward, taxes continued to increase, until we entered the World War, and that war engulfed us in a financial cataclysm such as the world had never seen before.

A Financial Orgy

A two-billion dollar Congress was followed by a forty-billion dollar Congress. From a debt of practically nothing, we went to a national debt of twenty-five billion dollars, the interest on which alone is greater than our aggregate annual expenditures for any year in the history of our government up to that immediately preceding our entrance into the World War. I need not enter into a detailed description of the financial orgy which was staged in Washington during the war. The necessities of the war are past. But we must find means to pay the expenses of our government and reduce our great national debt, without undue or improper burdens of taxation, and we must increase the business efficiency of our government.

A casual study of our financial history indicates that while our population is now but slightly more than three times what it was at the close of the civil war, our debt has increased more than ten-fold. A review of the history of state, county and municipal taxation shows that the increase in the tax rate throughout the country for the purposes of these various units of government has been greater even than the increase in the federal tax rate. There has been no proper proportion between increase in population and wealth and the increase in the cost of government whether local, state or federal. We must establish such a relationship and establish it promptly if we are to avoid governmental bankruptcy.

Blocked By President

If some one should ask why has Congress not done so, I answer that Congress tried but the president of the United States blocked the reform.

In the whole history of the government of the United States there has never been an administration which has asked from Congress less

money for the conduct of government in one year than the aggregate amount it received from Congress in the preceding year. In the whole history of our government the only economy which has been effected has been effected by Congress and through congressional committees. I do not assert that the Congress has always been perfect or justified in all of its work in reducing departmental estimates. No one will claim that; but I do insist that those who are ready to criticise Congress for its handling of expenditures should take note of these facts. I do assert that, but for Congress, our taxes today would be vastly greater than they are.

For a Sound Basis

Now, as I have told you, the last Congress, a Republican Congress, sought to take steps which would put our government on a business footing. It submitted to the president a measure which would have placed the United States government on a sounder business basis than any other government in the world today enjoys. In addition to this, it set up an independent establishment—and by independent, I mean free from the influence either of the executive or the legislative branch—to audit the accounts of the various spending agencies of the government. This agency was to ascertain: first, whether the monies appropriated were expended as directed by the Congress; second, whether the results of the expenditures justified their appropriation by Congress; and third, whether in the opinion of the comptroller general, the head of the accounting office, Congress should increase or decrease or eliminate particular expenditures for the ensuing year. We have no such system today although it is in operation in every great business.

Our budget bill virtually would have compelled the president—not the present executive alone, but each of his successors—before the beginning of each fiscal year, to call his cabinet into consultation, agree upon a program of financial policy, and then carry it into operation.

The bill made the president responsible for the preparation of the budget. It created an agency for his assistance, consisting of the secretary of the treasury and another person to be appointed by the president without confirmation by the Senate. The effect was to put upon the president as the chief executive, elected by all the people, the responsibility of initiating all requests for money. The result would be, as you can plainly see, to put in the place of the present chaotic condition of divided and sometimes conflicting responsibility thorough-going team work among the departments and ultimate single responsibility in the hands of the president himself.

The Present Method

Today every bureau chief estimates the amount which he will

need for the ensuing year without relation to the expenditures of the other bureaus and departments. These estimates, when finally collected, are delivered to Congress, where, in the past, they have been distributed among a number of appropriating committees which have proceeded to their consideration without reference to the work done by other appropriating committees.

I am frank to admit that not all of the reform desired can be accomplished simply by changing the methods of the executive branch of the government. Congress also must reform its procedure, and I am glad to say that the House has taken the first step in this direction by providing for a single great committee on appropriations which will give consideration to the entire budget of the government, as a related whole, and, through various sub-committees, so parcel out its work that it can be co-ordinated and handled expeditiously and economically.

The Senate has pending a resolution looking toward similar reform in its procedure, and I am sure that it is the plan of the Senate leaders so to change their organization as to conform with the plans for greater economic and administrative efficiency in our government.

The budget system will save the people of this country many millions of dollars annually, and surely such a saving is worth while and should not be delayed. One has only to glance at the record of the last few years to realize that this change is most necessary.

The Financial Progression

We have proceeded from a half-billion-dollar Congress to a one-billion-dollar Congress; from a one-billion-dollar Congress to a two-billion-dollar Congress; and from a two-billion-dollar Congress by one great leap to a forty-billion-dollar Congress.

When the war came upon us every department of the government seized upon it to expand its activities in order to help win the victory, and when the war closed these departments, which had expanded greatly for purposes of war, sought still further expansion for purposes of peace and reconstruction.

Congress refused to grant the enormous increases requested by the departments. It reduced them materially. Still, at best, Congress was able to give these huge estimates only a general survey.

There is today no agency whose chief business it is to investigate and pass upon the necessity of appropriations sought by the various departments of the government, and it is impossible for Congress or congressional committees, in the short time they have to work, to make this particular study in detail. But with the creation of a budget system such as was worked out in the measure which Congress passed and the president vetoed, there would be set up in Washington an establishment

which would have full and complete knowledge of every activity of the government and which would always be at the service of Congress, and of the people, when either desired information concerning the actual fiscal activities of the administration as a whole or of any particular bureau or department.

Change Is Needed

It must be apparent to all that a change is needed. It is necessary to correct this evil system—or, shall I say, lack of system—without further delay. It is necessary to put our government on a business basis at once.

As an important step in that direction, there must be made expert and thorough-going investigation and survey of the various executive departments, to the end that we may find and weed out every unnecessary clerk, division and bureau; discover and end or modernize every archaic method; ascertain and consolidate as far as possible the various agencies—and there are many of them—where there is a duplication of service. It is high time that we quit scolding about these evils in our system of executive government and took up the task of their practical reformation.

Many countries of the Old World are trembling upon the brink of financial and economic ruin. We are almost the only solvent concern among the great nations of the earth, and there are alarming portents even for us. We must conserve our resources, systematize our business management, curtail our expenditures, if we would be saved. Economy—economy—and still again, economy—must be the watchword of the hour. To spend more than is received in the long run is as fatal to a government as it is to an individual. In 1916, we had 296,926 civil employes upon the national pay roll. Today, two years after the end of the war, while we do not know the exact number, the civil service commission concedes there are 657,744.

No Real Reduction

The Democratic administration has made no real effort to reduce this enormous number to the limits of necessity. The places are filled with "deserving Democrats" and the Democratic Party will continue to care for its own, so long as it shall retain the power to do so; but if I am elected, I promise you now that this outrageous pay roll will be pruned of its super-abundant material and a good many thousands of your fellow-citizens restored to the farms and industries of the country where their services are so badly needed.

We have a great country, a patriotic people. Our resources seem almost unlimited. Yet there is a limit. And unless we check the existing system of waste and extravagance, we shall run head on into disaster.

I believe in a national budget. I believe that the president and his cabinet advisors, before the opening of each fiscal year, should meet and plan the business of the government for that year. I believe they should give consideration to the relative value of specific services; that they should use every effort to eliminate waste and duplication in these services; and bring the government to the performance of the fullest possible service to the people at the least possible cost. I would place our government on the soundest business basis. I would summon to my assistance in this work the ablest men in the country. I would insist that they plan for us a practicable business policy, and I would see to it that such a policy was carried out.

There are those who insist that our government is so strong financially it can not be wrecked. This is not true, but the way is open to us to give it that strength. It is for us, who are called to service, if we are called, to follow that road, and for my part, I promise to point the way.

A SPEECH BY SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING TO DELEGATION OF WOMEN VOTERS, MARION, OHIO, OCTOBER 1, 1920

Americans: Today the people of Marion and their neighbors welcome you. You represent the achievements of the women of America. You represent, indeed, an extension of woman's field of endeavor, which is a benefaction to the world. I believe that this extension of woman's activities has been taken, and must forever be taken, without peril to the fulfillment of that most precious of all American possessions—America's motherhood.

I have been asked repeatedly to make an especial appeal to the women of this country, but I have not done and I shall not do, such a thing. If there are among women the virtues of stalwart conscience and the finest appreciation of the needs of humanity, as I think there are, then the words that might be in my heart to say to women would be better addressed by me to the men of the United States.

I have refused, and I refuse now, to make an emotional or meretricious appeal to the hearts of the women of America. When we all acknowledge that the time and the conditions of the world call for fuller recognition of human rights, the protection of the life of human beings and the conservation of our human resources, it becomes the duty of the women of America, and it becomes my duty, to deal with these matters of social justice upon a high plane of an idealism which is not too proud

to work. More, it is our duty to consider without hypocrisy or high-sounding phrases a program of action. And it is my duty to address not only you who are women, now entering by justice, by the principles of sound democracy, and by the wisdom of a progressive civilization, into citizenship, but also to address, through you, every American who is interested in our common welfare.

I pledge myself today to support with all that is in me whatever practical policy of social welfare and social justice can be brought forward by the combined wisdom of all Americans. Nothing can concern America, and nothing can concern me as an American, more deeply than the health the happiness and the enlightenment of every fellow-American.

Would Have All America Safe

I believe that none of us can be safe and happy or reach our finest growth until we have done our utmost to see that all Americans are safe. I believe that, if a wise God notes a sparrow's fall, no life can be so obscure and humble that it shall become of no consequence to America.

Only by reason of the depth and permanence of such belief can be founded our grave duty and our solemn obligation to consider the subject of social justice without mere emotion, without mere inspirational words, without mere entrancing phrases, without mere slogans, but with that wisdom which is needed when the desire of our hearts and heads must be translated into terms of living action and actual achievement.

The social justice that I conceive is not paternalism. It would be easy to make it so, and dangerous indeed to the best spirit that Americans can have—the spirit of expressing by the individual free will one's own merits, capacity and worth. We do not want government to suppress that expression of free will, even by benevolence, but we do mean to preserve in America an equal opportunity and a preparedness for self-expression therein, even though we use the government to do it.

Not a Mere Sentiment

Social justice, on the other hand, is not a mere sentiment. To my mind a social justice policy in government can not and should not be confined to a program for the flow of benefits from some uncertain and magic source at the seat of government. I could not even consider a policy of social justice which is conceived, as so many visionaries conceive it, as a right of mankind. I will only consider it as an obligation of mankind.

I refuse to subscribe to the doctrine which has gone so far to delude the world that even citizenship is based upon rights. I believe, and have repeatedly said, that citizenship is based upon obligation.

I will not even approach the consideration of a policy of social justice unless it is founded on the stalwart American doctrine of the duties of

every one of us to all of us. The first measure of social justice to which America must always devote herself is the duty of citizenship to vote with conscience, to preserve laws and to demand their enforcement. It is the obligation of all true Americans to live clean lives and to engage with head and hand in honest, useful production and toil.

Best Social Welfare Worker

The best social welfare worker in the world is the man or woman who lives righteously and does the task well which he or she is most capable of doing, thereby adding to the sum total of human accomplishment.

Civilization, however, has recognized, and sound administration of public affairs will recognize with increasing conviction, that individualism and the free-willed self-expression of the individual, even the safety and the prosperity of all of us may not be maintained if we do not act together to maintain them. Such maintenance, wisely undertaken, is directed either to the task of upholding the standards of all of us, such as the standards of public sanitation and education, or it is directed toward the few who have not had enough of equal opportunity to guarantee their participation in equal opportunity.

The task before us—to build high standards of social justice in America—is sometimes badly defined, and I think we all regret that the methods to be pursued have been allowed to fly without definite understanding of their landing places. Social justice, like the phrase “self-determination of free people,” is a slogan which sounds so well that the world is beguiled away from deciding what wise things may be really done about it.

For my part, I have no taste and no conscience which will allow me to talk to Americans with phrases which I myself can not define and with a program which is not practical and capable of fulfilment.

Let us be practical in our idealism. Let us plan the things we can wisely do, and then do them.

I believe that there is no step more practical, no step which will mean more to the growth of America's social welfare; no step which will guarantee better America's social justice, than one which I now propose to you.

Department of Public Welfare

There can be no more efficient way of advancing a humanitarian program than by adapting the machinery of our federal government to the purposes we desire to attain. While others may have their eyes fixed upon some particular piece of legislation, or some particular policy of social justice which calls for the sympathetic interest of us all, I say, without hesitation, that our primary consideration must be the machinery of administration, and that when the time comes for us to reorganize our administrative government in Washington, we must all stand together for the creation of a department of public welfare.

It is almost useless for us to go on expending our energies in advancing humanitarian policies which we wish put into effect, and it is useless for us to hope for the effective administration of humanitarian policies already undertaken by the federal government, until we have prepared to create an administrative center for the application of our program.

At the present time we find social welfare bureaus and social welfare undertakings scattered hopelessly through the departments, sometimes the one overlapping the work of the other, and sometimes, indeed, engaging in bickerings between themselves. The picture is one of inefficiency and of wasted funds.

Let us not only have social justice and social welfare developed to the fullest extent which a wise citizenship will approve, but let us have also the means with which to make social justice and social welfare real and functioning, rather than visionary and inefficient.

I have no doubt that there will be some who will find in this proposal cause for calling me an extremist, but when we have a task to do, which has been dictated by our conscience and approved by our wisdom, let us straightway find the way to do it. I do not say this without a word of caution. I recognize certain dangers which are always presented when government undertakes large and detailed tasks. I have said already, today, that we must avoid paternalism, and that we must avoid it because a paternalistic social welfare program would smother some of the liberties, some of the dignity, and some of the freedom for self-expression of our individuals.

Avoid Results of Bureaucracy

In creating federal departments for the administration of social justice and social welfare, we must avoid the fearful results of bureaucracy. I am inclined to think that as between a bureaucracy of a military power which paid little attention to the regulating of domestic affairs, and a bureaucracy of social rules and regulations, the latter would oppress the soul of a country more. We do not want, and we will not have, either in America. Undoubtedly the great blessings of our constitution, appearing, indeed, as if our constitution had been written by the hand of Providence, are the checks which it places upon the development in a national center of a great bureaucratic paternalism. We are momentarily irritated at times when we desire to enact measures, which appear to be dedicated wholly to the welfare of mankind, when we find that constitutional limitations prevent their legality. But we have been saved through these many years; and will be saved throughout America's continued progress from the growth of too much centralism, too much paternalism, too much bureaucracy, and too much infringement of the individual's right to construct his own life within our American standards of reason and justice.

I would like to point out to all America that there is grave danger at hand when centralized expression begins to take from local communities all the burdens of social conscience. The best that humanity knows comes up from the individual man and woman through the sacred institutions of the family and the home, and, perhaps, finds its most effective application in the community where life is personal, and where there is not an attempt to cut men and women to pattern and treat mankind as a wholesale commodity.

I like to think of an America, whose spirit flows up from the bottom and is not handed down from the top. I like to think that the virtue of the family is the combined virtue of its members, and that the virtue of a community is the combined standards of virtue of its citizens. I like to think of a nation whose virtue is the combined virtue of its communities. For such is America; such may she always be!

Up From the People

So long as her expression flows up from the people, and not down from a centralized autocracy, however that autocracy may label itself, America will live in all her virile strength. When we create in Washington a strong federal government and undertake, even for the most humanitarian purposes, new federal burdens, let us with all reverence pray that we shall never by this means put to sleep the spirit, the sense of duty, and the activities of the communities and neighborhoods of the United States. I raise these cautions, not because I am doubtful of the wisdom of the federal government doing all that it can to conserve the human resources of the United States, but, on the contrary, because I believe we must move forward upon a sure footing, without undertaking impractical or unwise programs which lead to disillusionment, and in the end retard, rather than accelerate, the expression of American conscience and its application to the welfare of the American people.

With these cautions, however, guiding us, as we go forward, to create, if possible, the right kind of federal machinery for social justice, we will feel more confidence in creating a federal department of public welfare. When making the proposal for a department of public welfare to America, I am aware that I have made a step in advance of any platform. I have chosen to speak to you on the practical question—the question of how to do the tasks we must do, the things American conscience is calling to have done.

We all know that we face tasks of social justice, which we must undertake with despatch and efficiency. Who can suggest one of these tasks which can supersede in our hearts, or in the rank which foresight and wisdom will give, that of the protection of our maternity?

Protection of Motherhood

The protection of the motherhood of America can not be accomplished until the state and the Nation have enacted and, by their example, have enforced customs, which protect womanhood itself. I know full well that there are women who insist that women shall be treated upon the same basis that men are treated. They would have a right to take this position in their own behalf, but I insist, that all true Americans must insist, that no woman speaks for herself alone. She is the possessor of our future, and though she becomes engaged in the tasks and services of civilization, we must preserve to her the right of wholesome maternity.

We no longer are speaking of a small group. Twelve million women in the United States, forty per cent of them between fifteen and twenty years of age, are engaged in paid occupations or professions. Such an army of potential maternity demands from America careful and adequate protection in the conditions which surround their labors. For such an army there must be an increasing enlightenment in industry and business which will tend to break down distinctions of sex in matters of remuneration, and establish equal pay for equal work. The needs of such an army, engaging in the tasks of America, probably can not be understood by men alone. In the administration of federal and state laws, and in the educational services which will assist industry and the public, and the women themselves, to understand the needs of women, we will require the services of the most capable women we can get upon federal and state boards of employment, labor adjustment and, indeed, wherever the welfare of maternity and the welfare of American childhood, directly or remotely, are involved.

For Eight-Hour Day

There is a growing and a probably wise sentiment in America in favor of an eight-hour day everywhere for women. The federal government has set the example in a policy which looks toward the protection of our best human resources. Justice and American standards demand that women, who are employed, should be paid a living wage, and it is entirely unfair to the state which fulfils its obligations to humanity in any piece of humanitarian legislation affecting industry, that other states, by failing to perform their obligation, gain a temporary advantage in costs of production. I believe that one of the principal functions of the department of public welfare will be to enlighten and educate local action, so that we may have throughout our states an increasing sense of obligation to meet a national standard of social justice.

I desire particularly to emphasize the need of safeguarding the prosperity of the American farmer, so that he may compete with industry in obtaining labor. I am hearing constantly voices raised in behalf of the

women in industry. I desire to raise mine now in behalf of the women on the farms of the United States, who in the labor shortage of this year have gone into the fields—young girls and old women—to give a service which, if it had not been given, would have deprived us this year of an adequate food supply. There must be labor, normal labor, available to farm as well as factory.

One of the important organizations under a department of public welfare might well be the children's bureau which now exists, but whose work, already proved so useful, must be extended and made still more capable of educating and assisting in pre-natal care and early infancy. It is for us a grim jest, indeed, that the federal government is spending twice as much money for the suppression of hog cholera as it spends for its entire program for the welfare of the American child.

Our Death Rate High

We are not doing, however, enough for the future citizens of America if we allow women to injure, by industry or ignorance, their maternity, or if we allow infancy itself to go unprotected from disease and unintelligence. Among sixteen important countries of the world, thirteen show a lower death rate for mothers than does the United States, and six show a lower death rate for very young children. Nearly a quarter of a million babies—practically a number equal to the entire casualty list of our men in the great war—die every year.

It will not be the America we love which will neglect the American mother and the American child. The program to prevent abuses of child labor, already greatly advanced by Republican efforts, represents the progress of legislation toward wise prevention, which will receive the sanction of constitutional law. When we first legislated to remedy the abuses of child labor, approximately one out of five children between the ages of ten and fifteen in the United States were wage-earners. I do not say that among them there were not many exceptions, whose labors were of such a nature as to fit them to become better men and women, but I do say that in the mass, their labor represented the theft of their right to childhood, to happiness, to health, and of their right to prepare to embrace our equal opportunity, to realize for America their capacity and worth as future citizens. This condition we could not neglect, and we can not neglect the problems of child labor in this country. Even if it were not upon humanitarian grounds, I point out to you that the protection of American maternity and childhood represents economic thrift. Indeed, it represents the saving of our blood, our posterity, and the future strength of our nation.

Our National Health

Next to maternity and childhood, I believe that our attention must

be centered upon our national health. I have said repeatedly through this campaign that between twenty-five and thirty-three and one-third per cent of the young men examined in our first draft for war were found to be defective, or physically unfit. Examinations of children in the public schools of America disclose that fifty per cent of them are suffering from physical delinquencies, most of which proper attention would remedy before maturity. I believe, therefore, that we must undertake with great seriousness the problem of our national health. I am alert to the danger of too much oppressive bureaucracy in any great federal health bureau, but I want to see the various agencies grouped together in a department of public welfare. I want to see their principal function, that of stimulating, by research and education, the communities and local governments of the United States to the most active and sufficient campaign against low standards of physical well-being. We must attack, first, a low standard of health among children; secondly, the invasion of diseases which attend a low standard of morals; and thirdly, the invasion of epidemics, and the neglect of the chronic diseases of maturity, many of which are due to a failure on the part of individuals to adjust their living and habits to an artificial civilization.

It is not possible to discuss in detail all of the measures of social justice which sooner or later the people of this country will probably have to consider and adopt and put into action, or reject as impracticable. But I do conceive an obligation of government, to devote grave attention to another group of problems which are all humanitarian, and which are of vital importance to our future.

To Reunite Parties of Discord

I have spoken during this campaign of my attitude toward industrial peace. I have stated my full belief in labor unionism and in the practice of collective bargaining, and I have also tried to emphasize a belief, which I feel deeply, that industrial peace, though it may be attained by adjustment and conciliation, can never stand upon its firmest foundation until a higher sense of loyalty to the task permeates the worker, and a higher sense of humanitarian brotherhood permeates the employers of America. I do not think of this reawakening of a higher conscience upon both sides in terms of generalities, and I regard it as being one of the humane functions of which our government is capable to saturate the industrial life of our country with a spirit which will tend to reunite parties of discord.

We are often presented with conditions which result in industrial controversy, but which may not be charged to either side. I speak specifically of two examples: The first involves the unrest, the discontent, which arises from unsteady employment. It is not a condition to be remedied

alone by federal employment bureaus filling in the gaps of unemployment, but rests largely upon conditions of industry which make for seasonal production and periodic closing and opening of industrial plants and occupations. I am enough of an optimist to believe that government can assist in the abolition of this most unfortunate condition. I am even enough of an optimist to believe that the government can take a large part in a second and, perhaps, even more important campaign. I believe that many of our workers are engaged in tasks, which have been so specialized that the men and women themselves have become almost pieces of mechanism. This has produced a condition in which many of our workers find no self-expression. In such a condition, men and women are drained dry of the impulse to create.

Business of Its Own

Without any false notions as to the possibilities of turning back progress so that the day of less specialization may return, I none the less believe that it is our duty as a whole people to see if we can not make every job in the country a small business of its own. No matter how simple the job, be sure that it plays a dignified and an essential part in our welfare. The man who does it must learn to realize it; and more than that, he and his employer must combine to make every job, no matter what it is, a friend of the man who does it—a friend because the man who does the work has learned an interest in it, so that just as if it were his particular individual business he may understand how he may improve that job, so that he may understand its unit costs, its bookkeeping, its purposes, its relation to other jobs, and to the whole fabric of our national production, and so that the job may become, as much as possible, day by day, an expression of a human being.

This is our program of social justice. I have not attempted to make it complete; who can do so? This is my program for a department which as an effective government agency will further social justice. I have not attempted to describe it in detail. No one can describe it in detail before it becomes a working organization; but I believe that I have voiced the conscience and the common sense of America when I say that we must pay new attention to the conservation of our human resources.

Enforcement of Law

I must not fail to speak to you today of one of the measures of social justice and social welfare not often catalogued in this manner, but perhaps more important than any we have considered. I refer to the enforcement of law. It will not be my business when elected to decide what laws shall be. It will be legitimate for me to invoke public opinion for their enactment, but such a call to public opinion must be based more upon the duty of the Executive of the Nation to give facts to the people

than upon his desire to give opinion, theory and propaganda. The enforcement of the law is an executive responsibility and must be undertaken by the Executive without regard for his personal approval or disapproval of the law, which it has been the people's will to enact. Whatever your achievement may be in the world, your concern, as mine, is principally with the American home and you, with me, will realize that we must have throughout the land a respect for law-abiding principles. We must all condemn without qualification the failure of enforcement of prohibition, just as we must all condemn the failure of established authority to prevent outrages of violence, such as lynching.

I have appealed to you as to enforcement of law because I regard the enforcement of law as a fundamental principle of the American conscience, and if I am to distinguish between men and women, I will attribute to the women of America the major part in the preservation of that conscience.

Faith in American Womanhood

I have so much faith in the rare good sense of American womanhood, so much confidence in the intelligence of the women of America, that I do not fear their final judgment in the "solemn referendum" on the course of our Nation in its foreign relationships.

It should require more than the mere assertion of those who promised, but utterly failed to keep America out of the war, to convince thoughtful men or thoughtful women that the additional signature of the United States to the Paris covenant will keep the world out of war. One is either a very brave, or a very foolish, man or woman who would favor the execution of a mortgage, pledging the human and material resources of the United States to an enterprise, not only doubtful, but more capable of breeding war than of preserving peace. I do not believe in a mortgaged America. We shall do our full share in the rehabilitation of war-worn and war-torn Europe. But I want to do it as a free-will offering in such measure and at such time as we may ourselves determine. I do not want to put ourselves and all we possess in pawn, pledged to an adventure, the extent of which, and the end of which no man can foresee.

The Difference

Here is the difference between our opponents and ourselves. There is no difference between us in our desire to help. But those who seek to induce America to join the Paris league would have us pledge ourselves body and soul. We and the American people, the fathers, sons, wives, daughters and mothers, reject the hazard of foreclosure on America at the will of others. We intend to hold our resources in our own hands to be given, not taken. It is for us to keep our conscience and our honor on

our own hearths. Upon that principle, and because our conscience and our honor are still ours, I favor an association of free nations, and I care not what it be called or who has furnished the name.

I know that the mothers and wives of America do not wish to give their sons and husbands for sacrifice at the call of an extra-constitutional body like the council of the Paris league. I know that the mothers and wives of America will give them only at the call of their own hearts, and honor, and conscience.

I stand for a world association of free nations. I stand against an association of nations in which we will be under the flag of a world super-government, and no longer under the American flag. To serve mankind, it is not necessary to subject our country to foreclosure by the sheriff of internationalism. We stand for nationalism. We do not aspire to be citizens of the world. I, with the men and women of America, am proud that I, as long as I draw the breath of life, can say "I am an American!"

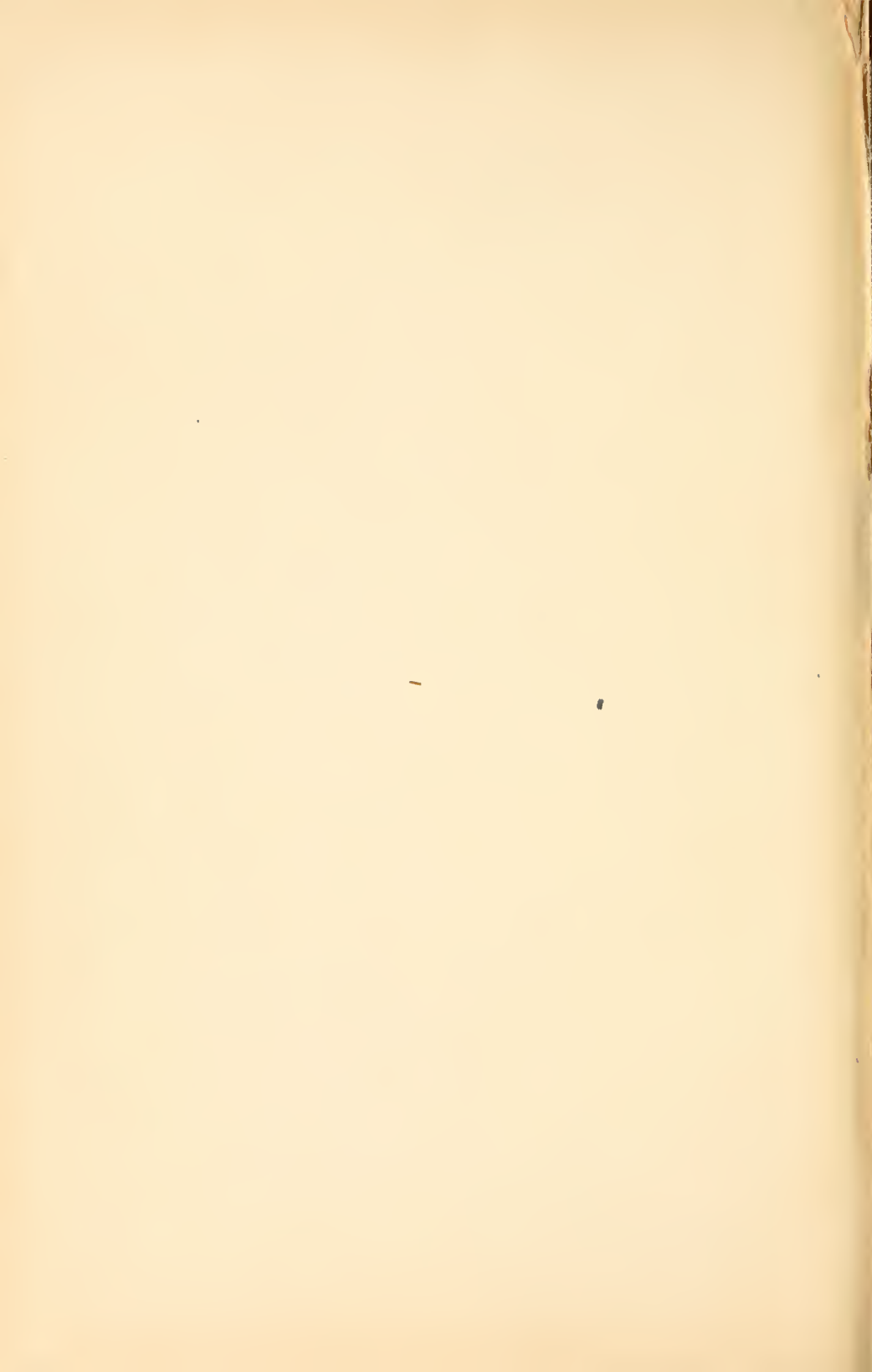


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